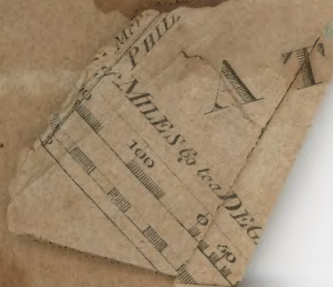


HISTORY OF
U. STATES

619





L. S. John

Quebec

NOVA SCOTIA

Gulf of St. Lawrence

St. John's

Charlottetown

Halifax

C. Sable

Palmouth

C. Cod

Sandy Point

Martha's Vineyard I.

Sandy Hook

North Harbour

Cape May

Lewards R. & Bay

Cape

B. Bay



THE
UNITED STATES
of
AMERICA.

MILES
100
REE.

A CONCISE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES,

FROM THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, TILL 1813.

WITH A CORRECT MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.



THE FOURTH EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. M'CULLOCH, 306, MARKET
STREET.

.....

1813.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit :

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-sixth day of December, in the thirty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1806, JOHN M'CULLOCH, of the said District, hath deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit :

"A Concise History of the United States, from the Discovery of America, till 1807. With a correct Map of the United States. Third Edition."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entituled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned ;" And also to the Act, entituled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entituled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other Prints."

D. CALDWELL, Clerk
of the District of Pennsylvania.

SEVERAL years ago, the Editor was concerned in publishing a work, entitled, "An Introduction to the History of America." That book was only a collection of public papers, a short sketch of the war, and a few other detached articles. The papers were arranged in chronological order ; but there was no attempt to connect the various parts, or to form a series of history. The work, however, was acceptable, sold off, and enquiries were continued for it. Deliberating on the propriety of printing another edition, it occurred to the editor, that a concise history of the United States, from the discovery to the present time, would be more useful ; especially for schools, and to such as had not time to peruse larger works. As nothing on this plan had appeared, he ventured on the work ; and, in 1795, published the first edition of this book. It met with approbation from individuals, and was introduced into seminaries in various parts of the States. Three editions have been sold. This fourth edition is considerably enlarged, and brought down to the present time. It is hoped the work will still prove acceptable to the public.

JOHN M'CULLOCH.

Philadelphia, Jan. 1, 1813.

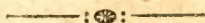
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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.



CHAP. I.

Of the Discovery of America.

THE discovery of America is a curious and interesting object of inquiry. To gain a competent knowledge of this event, it is necessary to attend to the history of that eminent man, who first brought the new world to the knowledge of the old.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in the republic of Genoa, about the year 1447; at a time when the navigation of Europe was scarcely extended beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. The mariner's compass had been invented, and in common use for more than a century; yet with the help of this sure guide, prompted by the most ardent spirit of discovery, and encouraged by the patronage of princes, the mariners of those days rarely ventured from the sight of land. They acquired great applause by sailing along the coast of Africa, and discovering some of the neighbouring islands; but after pushing their researches with the greatest industry and perseverance, for more than half a century, the Portuguese, who were the most fortunate and enterprising, had extended their discoveries southward no further than the equator.

The rich commodities of the East had for several ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and it had now become the object of the Portuguese to find a passage to India by sailing round the southern extremity of A

and then taking an eastern course. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portuguese service adventurers from every maritime nation of Europe. But Columbus, by an uncommon exertion of genius, formed a design no less astonishing to the age he lived in, than beneficial to posterity. This design was to sail to India by taking a western direction. By the accounts of travellers who had visited India, that country seemed almost without limits on the east; and by attending to the spherical figure of the earth, Columbus drew this conclusion, that the Atlantic ocean must be bounded on the west, either by India itself, or by some great continent not far distant from it.

This extraordinary man appears to have possessed every talent requisite to form and execute the greatest enterprises. He was early educated in all the useful sciences that were taught in that day. He had made great proficiency in geography, astronomy, and drawing, as they were necessary to his favourite pursuit of navigation. He had also been a number of years in the service of the Portuguese, and had acquired all the experience that their voyages and discoveries could afford. His courage and perseverance had been put to the severest test, and the exercise of every amiable and heroic virtue rendered him universally known and respected.

To corroborate the theory which he had formed, of the existence of a western continent, his discerning mind, which always knew the application of every circumstance that fell in his way, had observed several facts, which by others would have passed unnoticed. In his voyages to the African islands, he had found floating ashore, after a long western storm, pieces of wood, carved in a curious manner; canes of a size unknown in that quarter of the world; and human bodies with very singular features. Fully confirmed in his opinion that a considerable portion of the earth was still undiscovered, his genius was too vigorous and persevering to suffer an idea of this importance to rest merely in speculation, as it had done in the minds of Plato and Seneca, who appear to have had conjectures

of a similar nature; He determined, therefore, to bring his favorite theory to the test of actual experiment. But an object of that magnitude required the patronage of a prince; and a design so extraordinary met with all the obstructions, delay, and disappointment, which an age of superstition could invent, and which personal jealousy and malice could magnify and encourage. Happily for mankind, in this instance, a genius capable of devising the greatest undertakings, associated in itself a degree of patience and enterprize, modesty and confidence, which rendered him superior, not only to these misfortunes, but to all the future calamities of his life. Prompted by the most ardent enthusiasm to be the discoverer of new countries, and fully sensible of the advantages that would result to mankind from such discoveries, he had the mortification to waste away eighteen years of his life, after his system was well established in his own mind, before he could obtain the means of executing his designs. The greatest part of this period was spent in successive and fruitless solicitations, in Genoa, Portugal, England, and Spain.

The limits prescribed to this sketch, will prevent a detail of all the particulars relating to his negotiation in Spain. In this business he consumed eight years, in the various agitations of suspense, expectation, and disappointment; till, at length his scheme was adopted by Isabella, who undertook, as Queen of Castile, to defray the expenses of the expedition; and declared herself, ever after, the friend and patron of the hero who projected it.

Columbus, who during all the ill success in the negotiation, never abated any thing of the honours and emoluments which he expected to acquire in the expedition, obtained from Ferdinand and Isabella, a full stipulation of every article contained in his first proposals. He was constituted high admiral and viceroy of all the seas, islands, and continents, which he should discover; with powers to receive one tenth of the profits arising from their productions and commerce. These offices and emoluments were to be hereditary in his family.

These articles being adjusted, the preparations for

the voyage were brought forward with rapidity ; but they were by no means adequate to the importance of the expedition. Three small vessels, scarcely sufficient in size to be employed in the coasting business, were appointed to traverse the vast Atlantic ; and to encounter the storms and currents that might be expected in so lengthy a voyage, through distant and unknown seas. But the tedious length of time which Columbus had spent in solicitations and suspense, and the prospect of being soon able to obtain the object of his wishes, induced him to overlook what he could not easily remedy, and led him to disregard those circumstances which would have intimidated any other mind. He accordingly equipped his small squadron with as much expedition as possible. It was manned with ninety men, and victualled for one year. With these, on the 3d of August, 1492, amidst a vast croud of anxious spectators, he set sail, on an enterprize, which, if we consider the ill condition of his ships, the inexperience of his sailors, the length and uncertainty of his voyage, and the consequences that flowed from it, was the most daring and important that ever was undertaken. He touched at some of the Portuguese settlements in the Canary Islands ; where, although he had but a few days run, he found his vessels needed refitting. He soon made the necessary repairs, and took his departure from the westernmost islands that had hitherto been discovered. Here he left the tracts of former navigators, and steered his course due west.

Not many days after he had been at sea, he experienced a new scene of difficulty : The sailors now began to contemplate the dangers and uncertain issue of a voyage, the nature and length of which was left entirely to conjecture. Besides fickleness and timidity, natural to men accustomed to the discipline of a seafaring life, several circumstances contributed to inspire an obstinate and mutinous disposition, which required the most consummate art, as well as fortitude in the admiral to controul. Having been three weeks at sea, and experienced the uniform course of the trade winds, which always blow in a western direction, they contended that, should they continue the same course for a longer period, the same wind would

never permit them to return to Spain. The magnetic needle began to vary its direction. This being the first time that phenomenon was ever discovered, it was viewed by the sailors with astonishment, and considered as an indication that nature itself had changed her course, and that Providence was determined to punish their audacity in venturing so far beyond the ordinary bounds of man. They declared, that the commands of their sovereign had been fully obeyed, in their proceeding so many days in the same direction, and so far surpassing the attempts of all former navigators, in quest of new discoveries. Every talent requisite for governing, soothing, and tempering the passions of men, is conspicuous in the conduct of Columbus on this occasion. The dignity and affability of his manners, his surprising knowledge and experience in naval affairs, his unwearied and minute attention to the duties of his command, gave him a complete ascendancy over the minds of his men, and inspired that degree of confidence which would have maintained his authority in almost any possible circumstances : But here, from the nature of the undertaking, every man had leisure to feed his imagination with all the gloominess and uncertainty of the prospect. Notwithstanding all the variety of management with which Columbus addressed himself to their passions ; sometimes by soothing them with the prognostics of discovering land, sometimes by flattering their ambition, and feasting their avarice, with the glory and wealth they would acquire from discovering those rich countries beyond the Atlantic, and sometimes by threatening them with the displeasure of their sovereign, should timidity and disobedience defeat so great an object ; their uneasiness increased. From secret whispers, it arose to open mutiny and dangerous conspiracy. At length they determined to rid themselves of the remonstrances of Columbus, by throwing him into the sea. The infection spread from ship to ship, and involved officers as well as common sailors. They finally lost all sense of subordination, and addressed their commander in an insolent manner, demanding to be immediately conducted back to Spain ; or, they assured him they would

seek their own safety by taking away his life. Columbus, whose sagacity and penetration had discovered every symptom of disorder, was prepared for this last stage of it, and was sufficiently apprized of the danger that awaited him. He found it vain to contend with passions he could not controul: he therefore proposed that they should obey his orders for three days longer; and, should they not discover land in that time, he would then direct his course for Spain. They complied with his proposal; and, happily for mankind, in three days they discovered land. The crew of the *Piuta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God; and were joined by those of the other ship, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation.— This office of gratitude to heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander: They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him such unnecessary disquiet, and so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan.

Columbus was the first European who set foot in the new world, which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, with a naked sword in his hand: His men followed; and, kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix; and, prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such an happy issue. The place where they landed was one of the Bahama islands; to which he gave the name of *San Salvador*, and took possession of it in the name of their Catholic majesties.

Their first interview with the natives was a scene of amusement and compassion on the one part, and of astonishment and adoration on the other. The natives were entirely naked, simple and timorous; and they viewed the Spaniards as a superior order of beings, descended from the sun, which, in that island, and in most parts of America, was worshipped as a deity. By this it was easy for Columbus to perceive the line of conduct proper to be observed towards that innocent

and inoffensive people. Had his companions and successors, of the Spanish nation, possessed the wisdom and humanity of that discoverer, the benevolent mind would feel no sensations of regret, in contemplating the extensive advantages arising to mankind from the discovery of America.

In this voyage, Columbus discovered the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola; on the latter of which he erected a small fort, and having left a garrison of thirty-eight men, under the command of an officer by the name of Arada, he set sail for Spain. He had on board several of the natives, samples of gold, various productions, and natural curiosities found in the islands he had visited. Returning across the Atlantic, he was overtaken by a violent storm, which lasted for several days, and increased to such a degree, as baffled all his naval skill, and threatened immediate destruction. In this situation, when all were in a state of despair, and it was expected that every sea would swallow up the crazy vessel, he manifested a serenity of mind, perhaps never equalled in cases of like extremity. He wrote a short account of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made, wrapped it in an oiled cloth, and inclosed it in a cake of wax, and then put it into an empty cask, and threw it overboard, in hopes that some accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world.

The storm however abated; but near the coast of Spain, he was overtaken by another nearly as violent, and driven by distress of weather into the port of Lisbon. He had now an opportunity, in an interview with the king of Portugal, to prove the truth of his system by arguments more convincing than those he had before advanced, when in the character of an humble suitor.

On the 15th of March, 1493, he arrived in Spain, and was received every where with royal honours, his family was ennobled, and his former stipulation, respecting his offices and emoluments, was ratified in the most solemn manner, by Ferdinand and Isabella: while all Europe resounded his praises, and reciprocated their joy and congratulations on the discovery of a new world.

The immediate consequence of this was a second voyage ; in which Columbus took charge of a squadron of seventeen ships of considerable burden. Volunteers of all ranks and conditions solicited to be employed in this expedition. He carried over fifteen hundred persons, together with all the necessaries for establishing a colony, and extending his discoveries. In this voyage he explored most of the West India islands ; but on his arrival at Hispaniola, he found the garrison he left there had been totally demolished by the natives, and the fort demolished. He however proceeded in the planting of his colony ; and effectually established the Spanish authority in that island. But while he was thus laying the foundation of their future grandeur in South America, some discontented persons, who had returned from the colony to Spain, together with his former enemies in that kingdom, conspired to accomplish his ruin.

They represented his conduct in such a light at court, as to create uneasiness and distrust in the jealous mind of Ferdinand, and made it necessary for Columbus again to return to Spain, in order to counteract their machinations, and to obtain such further supplies as were necessary to his great political and benevolent purposes. On his arrival at court, and stating, with his usual dignity and confidence, the whole history of his transactions abroad, every thing wore a favourable appearance. He was received with usual honours, and again solicited to take charge of another squadron, to carry out further supplies, to pursue his discoveries, and, in every respect, to use his discretion in extending the Spanish empire in the new world.

In this third voyage, he discovered the continent of America, at the mouth of the river Orónoko. He rectified many disorders in the government of Hispaniola, which had taken place in his absence ; and every thing was going on in a prosperous train, when an event was announced to him, which completed his own ruin, and gave a fatal turn to the Spanish policy and conduct in America. This was the arrival of Francis de Bovadilla, with a commission to supersedé Columbus in his government ; and with power to arraign him

as a criminal, and to judge of his former administrations.

It seems that by this time the enemies of Columbus, despairing to complete his overthrow by groundless insinuations of mal-conduct, had taken the more effectual method of exciting the jealousy of their sovereigns. From the promising samples of gold, and other valuable commodities brought from America, they took occasion to represent to the King and Queen, that the prodigious wealth and extent of the countries he had discovered, would soon throw such power into the hands of the Viceroy, that he would trample on the royal authority, and bid defiance to the Spanish power. These arguments were well calculated for the cold and suspicious temper of Ferdinand, and they must have had some effect upon the mind of Isabella. The consequence was the appointment of Bovadilla, who had been the inveterate enemy of Columbus, to take the government from his hands.

This first tyrant of the Spanish nation in America, began his administration by ordering Columbus to be put in chains on board a ship, and sending him prisoner to Spain. By relaxing discipline, he introduced disorder and licentiousness throughout the colony. He subjected the natives to a most miserable servitude, and apportioned them out in large numbers among his adherents. Under this severe treatment perished in a short time, many thousands of those innocent people.

Columbus was carried in his fetters to the Spanish court, where the king and queen either feigned or felt a sufficient regret at the conduct of Bovadilla towards this illustrious prisoner. He was not only released from confinement, but treated with all imaginable respect. But, although the king endeavoured to expiate the offence, by censuring and recalling Bovadilla, he appointed N. Ovando to succeed him in the government; and ever after refused so reinstate Columbus, or to fulfil any of the conditions on which the discoveries were undertaken. After two years solicitation for this or some other employment, he at length obtained a squadron of four small vessels, to attempt new discoveries. He now set out with the ardour and enthusi-

asm of a young adventurer, in quest of what was always his favourite object, a passage into the South Sea, by which he might sail to India. Several months, in the most boisterous season of the year, he spent in exploring the coast round the gulf of Mexico, in hopes of finding the intended navigation. At length he was shipwrecked, and driven ashore on the island of Jamaica.

His cup of calamities seemed now completely full. He was cast upon an island of savages, without provisions, without any vessel, and thirty leagues from any Spanish settlement. About four months afterwards, a vessel came to his relief; and Columbus, worn out with fatigues, and broken by misfortunes, returned, for the last time, to Spain. Here a new distress awaited him, which he considered as one of the greatest he had suffered: This was the death of queen Isabella, his last and greatest friend.

He did not suddenly abandon himself to despair: He called upon the justice and patriotism of the king; and, in terms of dignity, demanded the fulfilment of his former contract. Notwithstanding his age and infirmities, he even solicited to be further employed in extending the career of discovery: But Ferdinand avoided any decisions on these subjects, in hope that the declining health of Columbus would soon rid the court of the remonstrances of a man, whose extraordinary merit, was, in their opinion, a sufficient occasion of destroying him. In this they were not disappointed.

Columbus ended his useful and active life, at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age. He died with a composure of mind, suited to the magnanimity which distinguished his character; and with sentiments of piety, becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life. The court of Spain buried him magnificently in the cathedral of Seville, and erected a tomb over him, with this inscription:

“ Columbus has given a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.”

Some years after Columbus had made his first voyage, Americus Vesputius, a native of Florence, also in the service of Spain, sailed to the new world. He wrote a history of his voyage, with remarks on such parts of the coast as he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the country that was published, it was read with eagerness and admiration. He framed his narrative so as to make it appear that he had discovered the continent ; and, by being a man of address, had the honour of giving his name to half the globe.

The successful termination of the voyage of Columbus filled Europe with astonishment ; and his flattering account of the countries he had visited, excited a desire in several nations to obtain a share of the dominion and wealth of the new world. The English were the second Europeans that visited America. Propositions were made to Henry VII. by some of his subjects, to engage in a voyage of discovery. He approved of the plan. But that nation, whose ships now cover every sea, had not a native capable of taking the direction of such a voyage. Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, who had settled in Bristol, was entrusted with the command of four vessels. He received a commission from Henry in March 1495 ; and sailed in May 1497. After a few weeks, he discovered and landed in Newfoundland, and soon reached the continent of North America. He ranged along the coast from Labrador to Virginia, without attempting either settlement or conquest, and then returned to England.

The discovery of America was a most important event in the history of the world. It brought one half of the globe into connection with the other, and caused great changes in the commerce and politics of Europe.

CHAP. II.

Of the Settlement of the United States.

THE Spaniards, immediately after the discovery of the new world, sent out colonies, and took possession of the precious mines, and other valuable commodities of the country. The Portuguese and Dutch soon afterwards planted colonies in the southern continent. The French followed the British to North America; and much blood and treasure was expended in contests about their respective possessions.

America was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians. The rights of these original proprietors of the soil were entirely disregarded by the sovereigns of Europe. They not only appropriated to themselves, or granted to their subjects, the whole continent, but the lives and liberty of the natives were often equally disregarded. Horrid cruelties, especially in South America, were exercised upon them. Millions were destroyed, and the remainder, after bloody contests, were forced to relinquish their country, or submit to the yoke of the invaders.

But the transactions in the southern continent do not come under our view. It is North America, and that part of it which comprehends the United States, that claims our attention.

It is pleasing and instructive to contemplate the origin and progress of society. Seldom, indeed, can this be done with precision. The first period of most nations are so enveloped in obscurity, or disguised by fable, that a few detached facts can only be collected of their early history. But the British colonies were settled in an enlightened and inquisitive age; and the facts and memorials of their proceedings are preserved: An opportunity is thereby afforded of tracing their history from the first settlement by a feeble body of emigrants, among tribes of savages, in an uncultivated desert, to their becoming great and powerful states, and forming an independent empire.

After the discovery by Cabot, near eighty years elapsed, before any attempts were made to colonise the country by the English; and it was upwards of a century before any permanent settlement was effected. Affairs of more immediate importance pressed upon the government; and the nature and advantages of commerce were but little understood. The nation was deficient in naval skill, and had scarcely any manufactures. But in the reign of Elizabeth commercial enterprize spread among the people. The importance of the Spanish colonies in America became evident, from the growing power of that nation. And a spirit of rivalry, as well as views of commerce, incited the English to improve the discoveries they had made in the new world.

VIRGINIA.

The first charter for settling a colony was granted by queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1578. She authorised him to discover, and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, not inhabited by any christian people; vesting in him, his heirs, and assigns, the full right of property in the soil, and gave him jurisdiction in the territory he should occupy. The lands to be held of the crown of England; and the settlers to enjoy all the privileges of Englishmen.

Sir Humphrey, vested with these powers, conducted two expeditions to America, without making any settlement. In the last voyage he perished, after taking possession of Newfoundland, in the name of his sovereign.

The spirit of adventure was too ardent to be damped by the failure of this enterprize. Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, obtained a similar patent from Elizabeth. He immediately equipped two small vessels, and directed the commanders to explore the countries he intended to settle. They landed near Albemarle Sound, in North Carolina. After trading a few weeks with the natives, and visiting some parts of the continent, they returned to England. Elizabeth was delighted with their description of the country. She gave it the name of Virgi-

nia, as it had been discovered in the reign of a virgin queen.

Encouraged by the report of his captains, Sir Walter immediately sent out a colony of one hundred and eight persons. They fixed their residence on the island of Roanoke. These adventurers, like most of the first settlers, neglected agriculture, and turned their attention chiefly to search for mines of gold and silver. Disappointed in their darling pursuit, and being ready to perish with famine, they returned in about a year to England.

During their intercourse with the natives, they acquired a relish for smoking tobacco, and first introduced this custom into Britain. It soon became fashionable; and by an unaccountable caprice, this useless and nauseous weed spread universally, and is used by people of every class, and in every climate.

About the same time the potatoe was brought to England from America. This invaluable and wholesome root, which multiplies the articles of food, and diminishes the chance of famine, met with a very different reception. While tobacco was extolled as possessing numberless imaginary virtues, the potatoe was neglected, and many bad qualities were ascribed to it. It was cultivated in gardens as a curiosity, but came not into general use, for more than an hundred years afterwards.

Not discouraged by the failure of his first attempt, Sir Walter, in 1587, sent out a more numerous colony. They landed at Roanoke; but were never afterwards heard of.

No further attempts were made at colonization, during the reign of Elizabeth. England was engaged in war with Spain, and her national existence being threatened, by the armament styled the Invincible Armada, the exertions of all her people were required for immediate defence. Sir Walter also had relinquish his patent. On the accession of James I. to the throne, he made peace with Spain, and the project of establishing colonies was revived. An association for this purpose, was entered into by men of rank and business. They laid their plan before the king, and petitioned him for authority to carry it into execution. He granted

their request ; and divided America, from the 34th to the 45th degree of north latitude, into two nearly equal districts ; called South and North Virginia. The first part was allotted to a company in London : and the other to certain persons, mostly residing in Plymouth. Their charters were of the same tenor. By them the supreme power was vested in a council resident in England, and the subordinate jurisdiction in a council residing in the colony ; the members of both were to be nominated by the king, and to act conformable to his instructions ; the colonists were entitled to the rights of Englishmen, and were to enjoy a free trade.—The proprietors, on receiving their charters, immediately prepared to settle their respective colonies ; little imagining they were laying the foundation of powerful and independent states.

The first settlement was made in the southern colony, which at length only retained the name of Virginia. One hundred and five men, embarked in three vessels under Capt. Newport, sailed for the old settlement of Roanoke, but were driven by a storm to the mouth of Chesapeak Bay. They sailed up this spacious inlet, and entered James' River. Delighted with the appearance of the country, they determined to fix their residence here. They took possession of a peninsula, and built James' Town, in April, 1607.

These emigrants were not well qualified to settle and improve an uncultivated country. Many of them were dissipated and profligate, incapable of subordination, and destitute of that industry and economy which their situation required. Dissensions broke out among their leaders ; they were involved in a war with the natives ; they suffered from famine and disease ; and in the course of six months, one half their number died. The energy and talents of captain Smith, who at first had been deprived of his seat in the council, saved the colony from utter ruin. Being advanced to the chief command, he restored order, overawed the savages, and acquired a stock of provisions. But in an excursion against the Indians, he was made prisoner, and condemned to death by Powhatan, the king. At the moment the sentence was to be executed, Po-

cahontas, his favourite daughter, rushed between captain Smith and the executioner. With tears and entreaties, she prevailed upon her father to spare his life; and soon after she procured his liberty.

In a few years, this Indian princess, with the consent of her father, married Mr. Rolfe, an English planter. She went with him to England, and was baptized into the Christian faith. She died on her return to Virginia, leaving one son; from whom are descended some of the most respectable families in Virginia.

On captain Smith's return to James' Town, he found the colonists in the utmost distress. Their wants, however, were soon supplied, and their numbers increased by arrivals from England. But as captain Smith was obliged to return home, the new settlers continued to neglect the cultivation of the earth, and spent their time in searching for gold. Their former miseries of course returned, and they encreased to such a degree, that of five hundred settlers, in a few months only sixty remained. It was then determined to abandon the country. They set sail in 1609; but before they reached the mouth of James' river, they were fortunately met by Lord Delaware, with three ships from England, having on board a considerable stock of provisions, and some new settlers. He had been appointed governor of the colony, and brought with him a new charter from the king, wherein the privileges of the proprietors were enlarged.

Lord Delaware prevailed on the former settlers to return with him to James' Town. Under his wise administration, the colony once more began to assume a promising appearance, and the inhabitants thought no more of abandoning the country.

Until the year 1613, the lands were cultivated by the joint labours of the settlers, and the produce carried into a common store, from which each inhabitant received a stated allowance. This was a great error, and retarded the progress of improvement. The land was now laid off in lots, and one granted to each individual. This gave a spring to industry; and it was reckoned that more labour was performed in a day, than was formerly in a week. The colony henceforth

enjoyed plenty of the necessaries of life, and the way was prepared for future opulence.

As the demand for tobacco encreased in England, the Virginians, about 1616, began to cultivate that commodity; which soon became the principal article of export. About this time, a Dutch ship from Guinea, sailed up James' River, and sold part of her cargo of slaves to the planters. This base traffic being introduced, continued to increase, till it has become a serious evil. Near one half the population of the southern states consists of slaves, which it is equally difficult to liberate, or to retain in bondage.

The colonists were chiefly males, who, constrained to live single, had little attachment to the country. A considerable number of young women, of humble birth, but unexceptionable character, were in 1616, sent over by the council in London. The planters received them with fondness, and engaged to pay the price of their passage in tobacco. The debts contracted on their account, had the preference in law to all others. The Virginians now considered the country as belonging to them and their children, and became more attached to it, and interested in its prosperity.

Convicts were introduced about the same time; and were sold as servants for a certain number of years.

The colony had hitherto been governed by the laws of the corporation in England, or its officers in James' Town; and martial law, had for some time been in use. But in 1619, the representative form, so dear to freemen, was introduced. A general assembly was summoned by Governor Yardley. Delegates from eleven corporations appeared, and with the governor and council, assumed the legislative authority. The laws they enacted, however, were of no force, till transmitted to London, for the approbation of the company, and returned under its seal.

Virginia was fast advancing in numbers and wealth, when an event took place, which brought it to the brink of ruin. The Indians, though apparently on good terms with the colonists, had for some years been meditating their destruction. They laid their plans with the greatest secrecy, and resolved to cut them off

by a general massacre. On the 22d of March, 1622, at mid-day, the attack was made. They rushed at once on the different settlements, when the people were secure, and scattered abroad at their labour, and murdered man, woman, and child. In one hour near one fourth of the colony was cut off. The destruction would have been greater, had not a converted Indian given information in time to save James' Town, and the places adjacent. A bloody war ensued, in which neither old nor young of the Indians were spared. By an unjustifiable retaliation, the colonists allured the Indians by offers of peace, and when they had returned to their former settlements, perfidiously fell upon them, and murdered all they found. Some tribes were totally extirpated.

The council in London, having divided into factions, and king James being displeased at their proceedings, he directed the Attorney General to institute a suit against them. The cause was tried in the court of King's Bench. Their charter was forfeited, and all the powers granted by it returned to the king. The colony had not on the whole been prosperous under the direction of the company. A great expense was incurred, and small returns had been made. Of nine thousand persons who emigrated thither, scarcely eighteen hundred remained at the dissolution of the company in 1624. The colony then became a royal government, under the immediate jurisdiction of the crown.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Having traced the proceedings of the London company, till the forfeiture of their charter, we shall next view the progress of the Plymouth company, in settling the second or northern colony. Their first attempts were feeble and unfortunate. A vessel fitted out by them in 1606, was taken by the Spaniards. The next year, a few emigrants landed at Sagahadoc. They arrived in August, and during the winter suffered severely by sickness and death. Next spring the remainder returned to England. Nothing farther was attempted for several years, but fishing voyages to

Cape Cod, and some trifling trade with the natives.— Captain Smith, whom we have already mentioned, commanded a vessel in this traffic in 1614. He explored the coast, and drew a map of its bays and harbours. On his return, he laid it before prince Charles, and described the country in such a pleasing manner, that the young prince declared it should be called **New England**.

The immediate cause of settling the northern colony, was the persecution carried on in England, on account of religious opinions. When Henry VIII. separated from the church of Rome, he still retained the prelatical government, and pompous ceremonies of that church. Many of the people were desirous of a further reformation. The Puritans, as they were called, chiefly inclined to the Presbyterian mode of church government, which establishes an equality among the pastors, and entirely rejects the Roman ceremonies.— But some went further, and embraced the Independent scheme, which places pastors and people upon a level, and gives every congregation complete jurisdiction in its own affairs. The sacred rights of conscience were at that time but little understood, and the idea of toleration was unknown. The government of England required a strict observance of the rites it established, and enacted severe laws against non-conformity. The levelling principles of the Brownists, or Independents, were the most obnoxious; and the professors of them were often punished with rigour, both by civil and ecclesiastical courts. About 1608, a body of these people fled to Holland, and settled under Mr. Robinson, their pastor. After some years, they became discontented with their situation, and resolved to remove to America. Their first object was to ask the free exercise of religion. Though king James refused the reasonable request, he gave a verbal promise not to molest them, while they continued peaceable subjects.— On this slender security, they applied to the London Company for a tract of land, which was readily obtained.

They intended to settle on Hudson's River; but the captain of the vessel, designedly, it is said, carried them

as far north as Cape Cod. This was beyond the limits of the company. But it was so late in the year, that here they were necessarily obliged to take up their abode. They chose a situation, which they called New Plymouth; and having signed a compact for the rule of their government, they landed on the 11th of November, 1620.

The emigrants were but one hundred and one in number; and were but poorly provided for the severe winter that ensued. Nearly one half of them perished before spring, by famine and disease. The population of the settlement encreased slowly, and at the end of three years, did not exceed three hundred souls. They subsisted as a voluntary, independent society; but were never incorporated by charter, and at last were united to Massachusetts Bay.

The government in England, under the counsels of archbishop Laud, growing more oppressive, and the number and zeal of the Puritans encreasing, many began to turn their eyes to New England, as a place where they might enjoy their religious opinions with freedom. An association was formed in order to settle a colony in MASSACHUSETTS BAY. A tract of land was purchased from the Plymouth council in 1627, and a charter granted by king Charles the following year. The adventurers had the right of the soil, and the powers of government conferred on them. The first governor, and assistants, were named by the king; their successors were to be chosen by the corporation; the legislative powers to be exercised by the proprietors. They were allowed a free trade, and were to be accounted natural born subjects.

Soon after receiving this charter, upwards of three hundred persons, mostly Puritans, embarked for New-England. They landed at Salem in 1629, where they found a few of their brethren, who had emigrated the preceding year. Their first care was to form themselves into a church state, on the Independent or Congregational plan. Among the emigrants, were a few, who preferred the ritual of the church of England, and being offended at the total abolition of it, assembled separately for public worship. But the Independents,

believing the plan of their church perfect, would allow of no deviation from it. With an inconsistency not uncommon among men, they denied to others the privileges they had claimed for themselves. They had just fled from persecution, yet instantly became persecutors. The governor summoned the chief malcontents before him; and, though they were men of note, expelled them from the colony.

A number of persons of wealth and respectable families in England, intending to embark for Massachusetts, were desirous to have the corporate powers of the company transferred to that country. In a general court, held for this purpose, all the rights of the company were vested in a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants; together with the people.

This salutary measure being effected, in the year 1630, fifteen hundred persons sailed for the colony. On their arrival, they laid the foundation of Boston, Charleston, and other towns. They proceeded to regulate their own civil and ecclesiastical policy; and enacted a law, that none should have any share in the government, but such as were members of the church. As the clergy were the principal judges of the qualifications that entitled a man to this privilege, they, in effect, held the rights of every freemen in their hands, and gained great influence in the affairs of the state. This law was repealed by order of Charles II.

The settlements becoming more numerous, and widely dispersed, it was inconvenient for the freemen to attend personally to the affairs of the corporation. In 1634 they elected representatives to appear in their name. The delegates met, and in conjunction with the governor, and assistants, considered themselves as the supreme legislature of the colony; and enacted that no tax should be raised, and no public office appointed, but in the general assembly.

The colony had deviated from its charter, in organizing both its civil and ecclesiastical government; and had acted as independent of England. These proceedings offended king Charles and his ministers, and he was about to new model the colony. But the difference between the king and the parliament coming

to a crisis, his attention was called to more domestic and interesting concerns, and the colony had leisure to pursue its plans.

Notwithstanding the care taken to maintain uniformity in religion, theological controversies arose, and greatly agitated the people. Several persons deemed heretics were banished, and others voluntarily went in quest of new settlements.

RHODE-ISLAND.

Mr. Roger Williams, a clergyman, being obliged to leave Massachusetts, on account of his religious tenets, travelled southward, accompanied with a number of his hearers. They received a grant of lands from the Indians in 1634, which they called Providence. Other emigrants afterwards acquired Rhode Island. In these settlements the inhabitants united by a voluntary compact. Full toleration of religious opinions was established. This liberal policy soon drew a number of settlers, and the colony became populous. In 1674, Providence and Rhode Island were incorporated as one government by king Charles the II on such liberal and democratic principles, that the charter then granted, still continues the constitution of the state.

CONNECTICUT.

A body of people emigrated from Massachusetts, with the consent of the government, and in 1635, settled on Connecticut River. Next year emigrants from England founded New Haven. This colony at first tried to bring into practice, that refined, but impracticable speculation of having all things in common. But they soon relinquished this plan, as it only produced idleness and waste. None were accounted freemen, but such as were members of the church; and they were severe against heretics. They ordered that the judicial laws of Moses should be the mode of proceeding against criminals.

Connecticut and New Haven continued two distinct colonies for many years; at length a royal charter was

obtained in 1665, from Charles II. constituting the two colonies, for ever one body corporate and politic, by the name of CONNECTICUT. This charter is still the constitution of the state. It is remarkable that Charles, whose government in Britain was arbitrary and oppressive, should establish liberal governments in some of his colonies.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

A settlement was made in 1623, under a grant of the Plymouth company ; but the religious differences in Massachusetts, was the chief occasion of peopling New Hampshire. Mr. Wheelwright, an eminent minister, was banished for holding tenets that were condemned by the ruling party. A number of his people joined him, and advancing towards the north, founded the town of Exeter, in 1637, having first purchased the lands from the natives. This colony was long harrassed by the conflicting titles of different proprietors.— For several years it was united with Massachusetts, but in 1679, it was finally erected into a distinct government, by a charter from the king.

In 1643, the colonies of New Haven, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, entered into a confederacy, under the name of the United Colonies of New England ; which continued till 1686. It was then stipulated, that two commissioners from each colony, should meet annually, to decide on matters of common concern ; that the votes of six members should bind the whole ; that in every war, each colony should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, in proportion to the number of people ; and that every colony should be distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory.

Though the strong members of this confederacy did not always act in a liberal manner towards their associates, yet it encreased the power and security of the whole.

From the first settlement at New Plymouth, in 1620, until 1640, when the Puritans gained the ascendancy

in England, and the emigration ceased, it was computed, that twenty-one thousand two hundred British subjects had arrived. Since that time, the number has encreased almost solely by natural population. For some years after the settlement, the colonists had to struggle with many difficulties. The Indians were often hostile, the country was covered with wood, the winters were long and severe, subsistence was scanty, and many perished with disease. But the survivors were not discouraged. Amidst all their hardships, they counted themselves happy in being governed by their own laws, and allowed their own mode of worship — In a few years they overawed the natives; the necessities of life became plenty; they began to export lumber, and apply themselves to the fisheries; and so laid the foundation of that commerce, which has since been carried to a very great extent.

As the colonies in New England were indebted for their origin to religion, and the first settlers were desirous of further purity in the discipline and government of the church, than they were allowed in their native country, these motives gave a peculiar tincture to the character and institutions of the people; as has been noticed in several instances. But they also remarkably fitted them for encountering the dangers, and surmounting the obstacles of their new and untried situation. They were a sober, industrious, and persevering people; and a portion of the same spirit among their descendants, finally led them to liberty, independence, and peace.

Having been particular in the detail of the settlements in Virginia and New England, which may be considered as the original and parent colonies; we shall be more brief in our account of the others; as being less interesting; and mention only the time and motive of their establishment.

MARYLAND.

In June, 1632, Charles I. granted to Lord Baltimore that country now called Maryland. The charter of

Virginia included this territory, and the company complained of the grant as a violation of their rights. The first emigration consisted of two hundred gentleman, chiefly Roman Catholics, of considerable fortune, with their adherents. Like the Puritans of New England, they hoped to enjoy in the wilderness, that liberty of conscience, and worship, they were denied in their native country. They landed in Maryland in 1633.—Governor Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, purchased of the Indians the right of soil, and with their consent, took possession of their town, which he called St. Marys. The country was settled with ease. The plan of the government was liberal, and every person was secured in the right of worshipping God, according to his conscience. The settlers applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, and the country soon became flourishing and populous.

Maryland was the first colony in America that was erected into a province of the British empire. In 1639, the representatives of the freemen met in general assembly.

CAROLINA.

This country was taken possession of by a company of French Protestants, who fled from persecution, and settled near Albemarle River. This colony was extirpated by the Spaniards. In 1662, Charles II. granted the country to Lord Clarendon, and seven other noblemen, and in 1669, the proprietors sent over a number of settlers, who fixed their residence at the place where Charleston now stands. A constitution was formed for the colony, at the desire of the proprietors, by the famous Mr. John Locke. Never was the fallacy of theory, when applied to new and untried situations, more fully manifested than in this instance. Mr. Locke was one of the most acute philosophers of the age, and though his constitution was ingenious, it was totally inapplicable to the state of the country; and after being many years a source of disquiet, was at last totally changed. This colony was long in an unsettled and unprosperous state. The Episcopalians

and Dissenters quarrelled about religion ; the people were harrassed by the Indians, and invaded by the French and Spaniards ; they suffered by famine, and perished by disease. The government of the proprietors being disastrous, they in 1719, gave up the interest to the crown, and the colony became a royal government. Under the protection of equal laws, commerce extended, agriculture flourished, and the colonies increased in population and wealth.

In 1728, the country was divided into two different colonies, called North and South Carolina.

NEW YORK.

In 1614, the Dutch settled in New York and New Jersey, and named the country New Netherlands. A few years afterwards, the Swedes settled on several parts east and west of Delaware River, and kept possession till 1654, when they were overpowered by the Dutch.

Charles II. resolved to assert his right to this territory. In 1664, he granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the region extending from the western banks of Connecticut river, to the eastern shore of Delaware, together with Long Island, conferring on him the civil and military powers of government. Colonel Nichols was sent, with four frigates, and three hundred soldiers to reduce the country. The Dutch governor being unable to make resistance, the New Netherlands submitted to the English crown ; and Nichols instantly entered upon the exercise of power, as deputy-governor of New York for the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

NEW JERSEY.

About the same time the Duke of York, disposed of New Jersey to Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. The plan of government was liberal ; and the colony soon became populous. The proprietors divided their property by line from north to south ; hence the names of East and West Jersey. In 1722, the province became a royal government.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA was next settled. Mr. William Penn, the celebrated Quaker, presented a petition to Charles II. in June 1680, stating not only his relationship to his father, the late Admiral, for whom his majesty had designed a grant of territory ; but also that he was deprived of a debt due from the crown, when the exchequer was shut : He prayed for a grant of lands lying to the northward of Maryland, and westward of the Delaware ; and added, that by his interest, he might be able to settle a colony, which in time would repay his claims. The next year the patent was granted, and in 1682, Philadelphia was founded.

William Penn, not satisfied with the authority of the king of England to grant the lands of the natives, made purchases of the soil from themselves. He introduced into his colony the most liberal plan of policy ; allowed full liberty of conscience, and granted lands to settlers on easy terms. By these means the colony became the most flourishing of any in America.

DELAWARE.

DELAWARE was settled at the same time, by Mr. Penn, who purchased the territory from the duke of York. Many years before his arrival, a colony of Dutch and Swedes, had settled on the banks of the Delaware. Mr. Penn says he was kindly received by them, and that they were a sober laborious people, with large families of children. The proprietary government continued in Pennsylvania and Delaware, until the revolution in 1776.

GEORGIA.

It now remains to give some account of the settlement of Georgia. In 1732, a number of gentlemen, considering the great benefit that might arise from settling the tract of land between the river Savannah and Alatahama, petitioned the king for a charter, which was granted in June the same year.

In the beginning of November, about one hundred and sixteen persons presented themselves, most of them labouring people, and were furnished with working tools of all kinds, stores, and small arms. Mr. Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, generously attended these emigrants to Carolina, where they arrived in January 1733.

They soon after proceeded to the country allotted for them; and having purchased land from the Creek Indians, founded the town of Savannah. This colony was long before it attained to population or strength, owing to the impracticable system of government established by the proprietors. They expended large sums of money with the most upright intentions; but the inhabitants were in a state of confusion and wretchedness. In 1752, they surrendered their charter to the king. But it was not till the peace in 1763, that the province began to prosper; since that time it has rapidly improved.

CHAP III.

From the Settlement of the United States, till the Year 1763.

IN the manner just related, was the North American continent divided into distinct colonies; not one of which, except Georgia, was settled at the expense of the British government. The emigrants were at the whole charge of transporting themselves, and purchasing the lands from the natives. And it was owing to their perseverance and industry, that the country was changed from a desolate wilderness, to a land abounding with every thing fit for the habitation of civilized man.

In the space of one hundred and fifty years, settlements were extended fifteen hundred miles on the sea-coast, and three hundred miles to the westward. The

inhabitants amounted to upwards of three millions ; and their agriculture and commerce had increased, so as not only to enrich themselves, but to increase the revenue of the parent state.

The blessings of a free government, and of religious liberty, were fully manifested in the rapid progress of the British Colonies. Though the countries planted by the Spaniards and Portuguese were superior in natural riches, yet these colonies, being under many restraints, and oppressive regulations, as to government, trade, and religion, they never attained to strength and consequence equal to the English settlements. It is also observable, that the colonies whose policy and government were the most liberal, who observed justice and good faith in their dealings with the natives, and whose inhabitants were in a state of the greatest equality, rose the highest in prosperity and importance ; and that those provinces in which slaves were the most numerous, were far inferior to their neighbours in strength, population, and real wealth.

When James I. made those magnificent grants, already mentioned, to the London and Plymouth companies, the value and extent of the American territory was but little known. The continent was supposed to be of small breadth, and several of the charters conveyed the rights of soil from sea to sea. Subsequent grants frequently interfered with former ones. Hence Virginia remonstrated against the patent to Lord Baltimore, and Lord Baltimore opposed the grant to William Penn. Disputes about their boundaries long subsisted between several of the colonies. Vermont was claimed both by New Hampshire and New York ; after a long contest, in which some lives were lost, the inhabitants, about 1775, set up a government of their own. The most memorable and longest contest was between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The charter of Connecticut extended that colony to the South Sea ; New York being in possession of the Dutch, no claim was made upon it ; but settlements were made beyond it in 1754, at Wyoming, on the Susquehannah. This country was included in the charter to William Penn.

As the settlers in Pennsylvania extended themselves, they came in collision with the people from Connecticut; and both parties supported their claims by force of arms. The dispute, in 1782, was submitted to a court, under the authority of Congress, who decided in favour of Pennsylvania.

The colonies first settled in America, were under the direction of the exclusive corporations in England. It was soon discovered that this mode of government was unfriendly both to their liberty and prosperity, and yielded no returns to the companies for the expense they had incurred in their settlement. Most of the charters were forfeited for mismanagement, or voluntarily delivered up to the king. The inhabitants of Massachusetts always manifested an independent spirit, and modelled their constitution according to their own will. During the civil wars of England, the parliament, who were Puritans, granted them several immunities in trade, which greatly increased their prosperity above the other colonies. After the restoration, during the latter years of Charles II. and the short reign of James II. they fell under the displeasure of these monarchs. The charter of Massachusetts was vacated by law, and the colony constituted a royal government. Strong representations were made against this measure: but James had determined to reduce all the colonies to an immediate dependence on the crown. The prosecution of this plan was prevented by the revolution in 1688. On the accession of king William to the throne of Britain, Massachusetts hoped for the restoration of her ancient charter. In this she was disappointed. A new one was granted, in which her privileges were abridged in various important particulars. The governor and deputy-governor were appointed by the crown. The governor was empowered to call, adjourn, and dissolve the assembly at his pleasure, and had the appointment of the most of the civil and military officers of the colony. By this charter New Plymouth was united with Massachusetts.

Shortly after Virginia became dependent on the crown, Charles I. ascended the throne. He pursued

the most arbitrary measures in the government of the colony. He imposed taxes, and enacted laws without ever consulting the representatives of the people. He monopolized the sale of tobacco, and made exorbitant grants of lands to his favorites; several of which included tracts already occupied by the colonists. Governor Hervey enforced every order with the most unfeeling rigour. The people, exasperated by his tyranny, seized, and sent him prisoner to England. Charles immediately reinstated him in his government; but, sensible that the complaints of the people were just, soon after removed him. He directed the new governor to redress grievances, to call the general assembly, and to establish courts of justice according to the laws of England. Under the wise administration of governor Berkeley, the colony prospered, and in 1640, the white inhabitants amounted to twenty thousand souls.

These favours from Charles firmly attached the Virginians to his interest, and they remained loyal during the civil wars in England. But when the parliament gained the victory, they sent a fleet to reduce them to obedience; and in order to retain their dependence on the parent state, passed two laws prohibiting all intercourse between them and foreign nations. In order to encourage the colonists, however, the growth of tobacco was prohibited, in England. This was the first interference of the parliament in colonial concerns. They were usually considered as under the sole jurisdiction of the king.

The people of Virginia, being displeased with the restraints on their trade, were highly elated at the restoration of Charles II. But his parliaments, instead of granting them relief, imposed further restrictions on their foreign commerce; and laid a tax on such goods as were imported from one colony to another.

These restrictions laid the foundation of a clandestine trade with foreigners, which was afterwards carried to a great extent. In the meantime, they caused great discontents in the colony, as their exports were reduced in value, and the imports advanced in price. Improvident grants of land, by Charles to his courtiers, which affected the titles of the ancient planters, increas-

sed their grievances. The indignation of the people became general, and at last broke out into open rebellion in 1676. The leader of this insurrection was N. Bacon, a stranger in the colony, but artful, ambitious, and popular. Governor Berkeley was at first obliged to fly; but having collected some forces, he took the field. In the civil war that followed, some of the best parts of the colony were laid waste, and James' Town reduced to ashes. Bacon remained master of the colony for seven months. His sudden death put a stop to farther hostilities, and his followers received a pardon on easy terms. During these discontents, the doctrine of Independence was first advanced; and it was probably never lost sight of by some bold characters, till it was actually declared an hundred years afterwards.

This insurrection, like all others that are unsuccessful, strengthened the hands of government—and the people were ruled in an arbitrary manner, till the Revolution in Britain, in 1688.

The distractions occasioned by the civil wars in England, reached also to Maryland. In 1654, one Clayborne seized the government for Cromwell. Great dissensions and animosities followed, which issued in a civil war. The royal party was vanquished, and their opponents continued in power till the restoration in 1660.

Religious dissensions were prevalent in some of the colonies. The gospel of Jesus, which speaks peace and good will to men, has often been perverted by passion and interest, and made an instrument of oppression and cruelty. Not considering that the rights of conscience are sacred, and that man is accountable for his religious opinions to God only, the ruling powers have made their own perceptions of scripture, a standard of truth; and endeavoured to bring the operations of the mind, as well as the actions of the body, under the correction of their laws. Fines and imprisonments, racks, and gibbets, have been used to enforce uniformity of opinion, and convince the understanding on the most important subject that can engage the attention of man. But it is error only that requires the aid of

external force; truth is best promoted by free investigation.—Persecution was long prevalent in Europe, and fled from it to the wilds of America; yet, forgetful of what they had suffered in their native country, they, when in power, imposed the like sufferings on others. The Independents of New England proscribed the Episcopalians and Baptists; and the Episcopalians of Virginia were intolerant to the Independents and Presbyterians. In Maryland, the adherents of Cromwell, when they seized the government, prohibited Popery and Prelacy. In Carolina and New York, the Episcopal church was established, and other Christians were oppressed. Each sect, almost in its turn, arrogated infallibility in its opinions; and also omnipotency to subjugate the minds of others to its decisions.

No sect suffered so much as the Quakers. On their first appearance in New England, in 1665, and for many years afterwards, they were whipped and put to death. They gloried in their sufferings, and esteemed themselves martyrs for the truth. Charles II. put a stop to further proceedings against them; though at the same time, he was authorizing like practices against the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Baptists of Rhode Island, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Roman Catholics of Maryland, at the first settlement of these colonies, seem to have had just views of the rights of conscience. Pennsylvania always persevered in her original plan. This liberal and just policy gradually prevailed; and the American revolution has secured religious as well as civil liberty, irrevocably, it is hoped, to every citizen in the United States.

The interests of learning were not neglected by the first settlers. Schools were early established, colleges founded, and printing encouraged. The nature of the government led the people to political disquisitions; and by these inquiries they became acquainted with their civil rights.

In 1692, an affecting instance of credulity and delusion was exhibited in Massachusetts, in the execution of a number of persons for witchcraft. Laws against

this supposed crime have been enacted both in Britain and America, and instances had occurred of their being put in force. But now the popular delusion rose to frenzy, and alarmed the whole province. Children accused their parents, and parents their children. A husband was executed on the testimony of his wife. Nineteen died protesting their innocence. Every one was afraid of being accused, where the crime and proof were equally mysterious, and yet the condemnation certain. At length this infatuation began to abate, and reason gained the ascendancy. But a humiliating example was given of human reason, and of the extent to which the punishment of supposed crimes may be carried under the influence of popular clamour.

The Indians in America were in a state of nature.— They subsisted chiefly by hunting, and needed a large range of territory to support them. Finding themselves circumscribed by the rapid increase and large extent of the English colonies, they began to repent their hospitality to the new comers, and endeavoured to expel them by force. The white people, also, often provoked them by encroachments upon their lands, and other unjustifiable acts. The arts and arms of Europeans gave them an ascendancy over untutored Indians; but an extensive frontier was always exposed to their depredations; and they often wreaked their vengeance on defenceless women and children.

We have already noticed their attack on Virginia.— About the time of the first settlement of New-England, the tribes nearest the colonists, had been much reduced by a pestilential disease like the yellow fever, and by the small-pox. They manifested little uneasiness at the intrusion of the strangers: and for a satisfactory compensation parted with their lands. But on the colonists spreading themselves on Connecticut river, they began to fear their own extirpation would be the consequence of the increase of the English. The Pequods, a powerful tribe of a thousand warriors, applied in 1636, to their neighbours the Naragansets, to unite with them in expelling the invaders. The enmity between those tribes, induced the Naragansets to inform

the colonists of the intended war. The Pequods, however, began hostilities in the savage mode; burnt frontier settlements, plundered, and scalped the inhabitants. Connecticut raised a body of men, and marched against the Indians. They had raised a slight fortification for their defence. This was attacked, and immediately carried. The victory was pursued in a barbarous manner: for in a short time the whole race was nearly exterminated.

Philip, the chief of the Massoit tribe, attacked Massachusetts Bay, in 1675. The contest that followed was obstinate and bloody, with a great destruction of property. It lasted upwards of a year, when Philip being killed by one of his men, the Indians were vanquished, and the remains of the tribe entirely dispersed.

An Indian war broke out in Maryland in 1642, which lasted several years, attended with the customary evils; and concluded, as usual, by the submission of the savages.

The French had taken possession of Canada about 1608, and afterwards made settlements in Nova Scotia, and the islands on its coast. The ancient rivalry between France and England extended to America.—When the mother countries were at war, the colonists took part in the quarrel. On the accession of William to the throne of England, the French commenced hostilities. It was during this war, in 1692, that the French from Canada, assisted by the Indians, whom, from the first settlement, they had been careful to attach to their interest, made an irruption into the colony of New-York; they burnt the town of Schenectady, massacred the inhabitants, and returned laden with spoil. A desultory war ensued, in which Canada, in its turn, was invaded; but no event of importance took place. During this war, the first proposal to unite the colonies for mutual defence was made by the legislature of Massachusetts.

In 1702, and until 1713, inroads were made by the French and New England colonists on each other; villages were burnt, and the inhabitants plundered or kil-

led. Several attempts were made to reduce Canada and Nova Scotia, in conjunction with a British fleet, but the attempts all miscarried. The French and English colonists mutually harrassed each other in desultory expeditions ; without any public advantage.

The Carolinas were attacked by the Spaniards and Indians, in 1712 and 1716. The inhabitants were taken by surprise, and many of them killed ; but at length the enemy were defeated, and the Indians were obliged to quit the lower parts of the country. The Carolinians in their turn entered Florida, in 1740, but the expedition failed of success.

Pennsylvania remained free from any attack till 1754. Great pains had been taken to conciliate the natives by the founder and the first settlers. This year the Indians attacked the frontiers, but the war terminated in favour of the colony. After peace was established the inhabitants of Paxton massacred a body of Indians, who lived at Lancaster, under protection of the government.

By reason of these frequent wars, by diseases that swept them off in multitudes, and by the use of spirituous liquors, many Indian tribes are reduced to a small number, or become extinct.

The expense attending the Indian wars, and incurred by the expeditions against the French in Canada and Nova Scotia, and the Spaniards in Florida, induced several of the colonists to issue bills of credit, on the faith of government. Too many of these bills being thrown into circulation, and no adequate means used for their redemption, they depreciated ; and the holders of them suffered loss. Pennsylvania issued a sum in bills of credit, and lent them to farmers on the security of their lands. This was a new and excellent policy ; the bills being gradually withdrawn from circulation by taxes, the money kept its nominal value. The people were greatly benefited by the improvements it enabled them to make in new settlements ; and the interest of the money was clear gain to the province.

The form of government in the colonies, after various changes, resembled that of the parent state. The

provincial assemblies, generally divided into two branches, were in place of the parliament; the governors represented the king; the courts were on the same plan with those of England: and the English common law was enforced through all the colonies. The king was supreme, he appointed the governors in most of colonies, had a negative on their laws, and justice was dispensed in his name.

At the settlement of the colonies, they were solely under the direction of the king, or of those to whom he granted charters. During the civil wars in England, the parliament, having the supreme power, exercised jurisdiction over them. Power, when it is once required or usurped, is seldom relinquished willingly. The British parliament continued to legislate for the colonies. Laws were enacted for regulating their commerce, and making it entirely subservient to the interest of the mother country. They also in some instances restricted their manufactures. These laws gave considerable uneasiness, as a free trade was secured at the first emigration. It soon appeared, however, that it was impossible to continue the indulgence, without injuring the public revenue. James I. about 1620, ordered the Virginians to land their tobacco in England, from whence only, it was to be exported to other nations. Charles I. when he granted new privileges to that colony, was so strict in this point, that captains of vessels, who cleared out in the colonies, were obliged to give bond that they would land their tobacco in England. As their trade became more important, these commercial regulations were extended, and the most important productions were prohibited by parliament, to be carried to any other country than Britain. These laws were founded on the idea of the supremacy of the mother country, and that the expense she occurred in defending the colonies could only be compensated by a monopoly of their trade. It was but an unwilling obedience that was yielded to these restrictive acts; and they were often evaded. The parliament, however, at length proceeded from regulating foreign commerce, to lay internal taxes; but this claim was firmly and successfully resisted, as will be afterwards related.

At the revolution in England, 1688, when William and Mary ascended the throne, the colonies readily acknowledged their title. The arbitrary measures of both Charles II. and James II had been felt in Virginia and New England; and though their grievances were not redressed according to their wish, yet the government was administered in a more regular and liberal manner than before. The legislatures, indeed, were often thwarted in their plans by the royal governors, who refused their assent to such measures as would be disagreeable to the king; and on the other hand, recommendations of the king were sometimes disregarded by the colonial legislatures.

In 1722, a dispute took place between the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, about the amount and duration of his salary. They contended, that though they were deprived of the right of choosing their governor, yet the amount of his salary depended upon them. After a long dispute, this point was conceded to the colony.

The proprietors of Pennsylvania contended for the exemption of their lands from taxes, but the assembly would by no means consent. This dispute entered into every question, and both parties frequently refused to pass the most salutary laws, unless gratified in their favourite point. The difference came to such a height, that in 1763, a petition was sent to the king by the people, to erect Pennsylvania into a royal government. This event, however, did not take place; and the proprietors held their office until the American revolution. They were then excluded, and allowed £130,000 sterling in lieu of quit rents. After some hesitation they accepted the money. It was much below the value of the property; but their private estates still remained in their possession.

The proprietor of Maryland was excluded from the government of that province in 1689, on a rumour of a popish plot. It continued in the hands of the king till 1716. He then restored the proprietor to his right, which continued in his family till the American revolution, when the whole property was confiscated to the state.

Several other domestic contests took place, which are too minute to be recounted in this epitome. They gave employment to politicians, and kept alive the spirit of liberty, without injuring the prosperity of the colonies, or affecting the welfare of the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the restraints on trade, the differences about religion, or political subjects, and the incursions of the Indians, the colonies grew up to greatness. Lying hid from the world, they attained strength unknown to the country they came from, and even to themselves. Lands were plenty, and subsistence easily acquired. Commerce greatly increased. Settlers flocked to them from Britain, Ireland, and Germany. The inhabitants in general had little to engage their attention, or excite their genius beyond the concerns of domestic life, or the pursuits of agriculture. They enjoyed the substantial blessings of a free government; they acquired property: and being happily at a distance from European wars, they were long exempt from the calamities attendant on these ruinous contests.

The period however arrived, when America appeared in a more conspicuous situation. War was declared between France and England, in 1744, in which the colonists, considering themselves as part of the British empire, took an active part.

Expelling the French from Canada and Nova Scotia was always a favourite measure in New England; and occasionally attempted. The war presenting another opportunity, it was readily embraced. The legislature of Massachusetts, of their own accord, planned the reduction of Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton. Five thousand men were raised for this purpose. This force arrived at the island in April; a British fleet co-operated with them; and the siege was carried on with such effect, that, about the middle of June, the French capitulated. This was a service of much fatigue, reflected honour on the colonial troops, and gave great advantage to Britain in the contest with France.

Peace was soon after made; but it was of short duration. The French, as we have observed, were in possession of Canada; they had also made a settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi; and were desirous

of forming a communication between these extremities of the continent. To facilitate this design, they erected several forts, in commanding situations, on the back of the English settlements. The same country was claimed by the British; and the king had granted a patent for a new colony on the Ohio. Each nation complained of the encroachments made by the other. The British traders among the Indians were seized and plundered by the French. The colonists, as being immediately interested, were alarmed for their safety; and the governor of Virginia, in 1753, sent major Washington, then about twenty-one years of age, to the French commandant on the Ohio, requesting him to withdraw from the dominions of his Britannic majesty. The French commandant, in answer, claimed the country, as belonging to the king his master; and expressed his determination to occupy and defend it. In the mean time, the Virginians had sent out workmen to fortify a post at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegany. This party was driven off by the French, who erected a strong fort at the same place, and named it Du Quesne.

War being now inevitable, the colonies were instructed to oppose the encroachments of the French.— Virginia raised three hundred men, put them under the command of colonel Washington, and ordered them towards the Ohio. They defeated a party of the enemy in May, 1754. The French commandant then marched against the victors, with upwards of nine hundred men. Col. Washington entrenched his little army, and made a brave defence; but was obliged to surrender. He received honourable terms of capitulation.

At this critical time for the safety of the colonies, a confederation for their common defence was proposed. A meeting of delegates was held at Albany: and a plan of union drawn up. It was dated the 4th of July, 1754. A grand council was to be formed, to consist of delegates from the several legislatures, and a president appointed by the crown, with a negative voice. This council was to concert all measures for the common safety; apportion the quotas of men and money to be

raised by each colony ; and direct the military operations. The plan was rejected by the provincial assemblies, as giving too much power to the crown ; and by the British ministry, as making the colonies too independent. This mutual rejection probably shews the wisdom of the plan. The ministry proposed, that the governors of the colonies, with one or two of their counsellors should assemble, regulate measures of common concern, draw upon the British treasury for the money wanted ; which should be repaid by a tax on the colonies. This plan was at once rejected in America.

The necessity, however, of repressing the encroachments of the French was evident ; and it was determined to attack their forts on the Ohio, at Niagara, Crown Point, and in Nova-Scotia.

General Braddock was accordingly sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments of foot. When joined by the forces of the colony, he found himself at the head of twenty-two hundred men. He proceeded against the French posts on the Ohio. He was brave, but wanted other qualifications necessary for the service to which he was appointed.

Colonel Washington earnestly begged of him, when the army was marching towards the enemy, to permit him to scour the woods with his rangers ; but was contemptuously refused. The general pushed heedlessly forward with the first division, consisting of fourteen hundred men, till he was suddenly attacked by four hundred, chiefly Indians, who lay in ambuscade. His army was defeated, and himself mortally wounded, on the 9th of July, 1755.

The British troops were struck with a panic, and fled in confusion ; but the militia, being used to Indian fighting, were not so terrified. The general had disdainfully turned them into the rear, by which means they remained in a body unbroken ; and served, under colonel Washington, as a most useful reserve, which covered the retreat of the regulars, and prevented them from being entirely cut to pieces.

The army immediately marched to Philadelphia ; and the frontier settlements being exposed to the incursions of the savages, were entirely broken up.

The Massachusetts assembly raised a body of troops, which were sent to Nova Scotia. In a few weeks, and with the loss only of three men, they captured all the forts, and obliged the French inhabitants to remove from the province. They were dispersed through the British colonies, and became incorporated with them.

The expedition against Niagara was entrusted to governor Shirley ; but before the troops were in readiness, the season was so far advanced, that the enterprise was relinquished.

Sir William Johnson was to attack Crown Point.—The delays and deficiency of preparation prevented the several colonies joining their troops till about August. In the mean time, the enemy having transported forces from France to Canada, marched to meet the provincials, and attacked them ; but they were repulsed, with the loss of six hundred men. Notwithstanding this victory, the enemy still kept possession of Crown Point, and fortified Ticonderoga.

The next year, 1756, governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was appointed to the command. It was again determined to reduce Crown Point, Niagara, and fort Du Quesne. Twenty thousand men were to be raised for this campaign. The troops destined for Crown Point had assembled when Lord Loudon arrived from Britain, as commander in chief. Instead of marching against the enemy, the British and American troops differed about their rank in the army. While they were adjusting this point of honour, the French, under Montcalm, advanced against Oswego. This important place, with sixteen hundred prisoners, and a large quantity of stores, fell into his hands. A naval force on the lakes also surrendered. The success of the enemy entirely disconcerted the plan of the campaign, and the British were obliged to confine themselves to defensive operations.

In 1757, a fleet and army rendezvoused at Halifax, in order to attack Cape Breton, which at the late peace had been restored to France. A superior force of the enemy having arrived, the enterprise was abandoned.

Three campaigns were thus wasted away —The generals sent from Britain accused the Americans of timi-

dity, disunion, and of delay in bringing their forces into the field : the Americans warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of the British officers.

In the year 1758, happily for the British nation, Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry. The war, which had hitherto languished, was carried on with vigour, and crowned with success.

Three separate expeditions were undertaken in America. General Amherst was ordered to attack Cape Breton. After an obstinate defence, Louisburgh once more capitulated ; and the fortifications were destroyed.

General Forbes was equally successful against fort Du Quesne. The French, being too weak to defend the place, abandoned it at the approach of the British.— They took possession, and gave it the name of Fort Pitt. This acquisition was of great advantage to the colonies. It gave them the command of a great part of the country in contest, and relieved them from the incursions of the western Indians, who entered into a treaty with general Forbes.

The expedition against Crown Point failed a second time. This was under general Abercrombie ; whose excessive caution in marching to the place of action, gave the French an opportunity of strengthening their works in a very complete manner. The British, in attempting to storm the fort, were repulsed with terrible slaughter, and obliged to retreat. The important post of Frontinac was afterwards taken by a detachment under colonel Bradstreet.

The next year, 1759, the English were every where victorious. Gen. Amherst, who had now the chief command, with twelve thousand men, marched to attack Crown Point and Ticonderoga. He found the forts deserted and destroyed. The important post of Niagara was taken Sir William Johnson. Nothing remained, in order to give the finishing blow to the power of the French in America, but the reduction of Quebec, the capital of their dominions. The enterprise against this formidable city was committed to general Wolfe. After surmounting a combination of difficulties, he made good his landing, and took posses-

sion of the ground on the back of the city. The French commander, Montcalm, was no sooner apprized that the British had gained these heights, which they deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle.—A most desperate engagement ensued. Montcalm was slain: his second in command shared the same fate. Wolfe, advancing at the head of his grenadiers, received a mortal wound. Struggling in the agonies of death, he heard a voice cry, They run! he asked, who ran? and was informed, the French. He replied, I die happy, and expired in the arms of victory. Quebec immediately surrendered to the conquerors. Next year the reduction of the whole province of Canada was achieved by lord Amherst.

After the war had raged near eight years, it was concluded in 1763. Britain had been eminently successful: Besides acquisitions in other parts of the world, she had driven the French out of North America; and gained Florida from the Spaniards. Nearly the whole northern continent was in her possession.—The colonies were delivered from the danger of encroachments on their western boundaries; they also gained considerable experience in the art of war; and became acquainted with their own strength and resources. They had not only furnished powerful aid in men and money, for the land service; but were active in fitting out privateers which greatly distressed the French trade. Several colonies had contributed so much beyond their proportion, as to receive a reimbursement from the British treasury. Other colonies were tardy in their supplies. The requisitions of the British minister were adopted, modified, or rejected by the colonial legislatures, according to their local views, or the danger with which they were threatened.—The want of an uniform system of drawing forth their resources, and directing their operations, was very apparent.

Some have alleged, that the inequality of the contributions and exertions, during the war, first suggested to the ministry the idea of taxing America by authority of parliament; and the plans were in contempla-

tion for altering the civil government of the colonies, and introducing episcopacy by a legal establishment.— It has been suggested by others, that during the war, the colonies became so sensible of their own strength and importance, that the seeds of Independence were sown; and that they afterwards indulged a boldness of inquiry respecting their rights, and a spirit of resistance to British claims, which they would have suppressed, had there been a powerful enemy on their frontiers. The practicability of Britain governing such a growing and widely extended empire, was questioned by her own politicians: and European nations were so jealous of her power, and sensible of their danger, from the united exertions of Britain and her colonies, that they gladly seized any opportunity of separating their interests and force, in order to abridge the power of the British nation.

CHAP. IV.

From 1763 till 1775.

AT the peace of 1763, the British nation, though triumphant in every quarter of the globe, found itself loaded with an immense debt. While the minister, Mr. Grenville, was concerting measures for diminishing this debt, he proposed raising a revenue from the American colonies; and of laying taxes on them by the authority of parliament. This was a new claim. Plans of this kind had indeed been proposed in Britain: and some of the colonies wished a mode to be adopted, which should combine their exertions, and equalize their expenses. But since the first settlement of America, the colonies had been allowed to tax themselves. Requisitions to the colonial legislatures, for men and money, had been made by the British minister; and these were, in general, cheerfully complied with. They denied that parliament had any right to grant their

money, and argued that they were not represented in that assembly, and had no controul over its members; that the parliament, having the power of regulating their commerce, and making it subservient to the interests of Britain, which operated as an indirect tax, could not, consistent with any degree of liberty, proceed to lay direct internal taxes, whereby their property would be taken from them without their consent. They acknowledged themselves subjects of the British crown, but denied the supremacy of parliament.—On the other hand, it was contended by Britain, that a great expense had been incurred in defending the colonies; that the late war originated on their account, and terminated for their benefit; that in reason, they ought to pay part of the expense; that the parliament of Britain was supreme, and had the right of taxation over the whole empire.—It was an important constitutional question, and after all that was said and wrote by speculative men, on both sides of the Atlantic, and the schemes of conciliation and union proposed both by Britons and Americans, it may be questioned, whether any practicable plan could have been formed, consistent with the unity of the empire, and the preservation of the liberty of the colonies. The pride of an opulent conquering nation, urged the British to persist in their claims: the love of liberty, of property, and an idea of their own strength, spirited up the Americans to a determined resistance.

The parliament did not immediately proceed to tax the colonies; but they declared, in 1764, that it would be proper to lay certain stamp duties; and that the monies should be paid into the British treasury. This vote excited a general commotion in America. Petitions to the king, and memorials to the parliament, were drawn up by the colonial assemblies. The house of representatives of Massachusetts passed the following resolutions: “That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of that province, was vested in them, as their legal representatives, and that the imposition of duties and taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, upon a people who are not represent-

ed in the House of Commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights."—"That no man can justly take the property of another without his consent ;" upon which original principle, the right of representation in the same body that exercises the power of levying taxes, one of the main pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded.

Several of the colonies had agents in London, in order to transact their business with the government. As so great an opposition was manifested against the stamp act, the minister informed the agents, one of which was Dr. Franklin, that they were at liberty to suggest any other way of raising money. But the Americans objected not only to the mode, but the principle, and would make no compromise on the subject.

The bill was therefore brought into parliament, and passed by great majorities, and in March, 1765, received the royal assent. The framers of the stamp act flattered themselves, that the confusion which would arise from the disuse of writings, would compel the colonies to use stamp paper, and thereby to pay the tax imposed. Thus they were led to pronounce it a law that would execute itself. It was to take effect the first of November following.

However, Mr. Grenville was not without apprehensions that it might occasion disturbance ; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill, which was brought in the same session, whereby it was made lawful for military officers, in the colonies, to quarter their soldiers in private houses. Great opposition being made to this bill, as under such a power in the army no one could look upon his house as his own, that part of it was dropt ; but still there remained a clause, obliging the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, and to furnish them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer, rum, and sundry other articles, at the expense of their own provinces.

When intelligence arrived in America that the stamp act was passed, the people were filled with indignation. In several of the large towns riotous meetings took place ; buildings were destroyed ; the favourers of the act grossly abused ; and the stamp

masters obliged to resign. The House of Burgesses of Virginia, was the first public body that manifested an opposition to it. In sundry bold and decided resolutions, passed in May, 1765, they asserted the exclusive right of the assembly to lay taxes on that colony; and that every attempt to vest such power elsewhere, was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. The legislatures of several other colonies acted in a similar manner.

Massachusetts suggested the expediency of a congress of delegates. This proposal being agreed to, deputies from ten of the colonies met at New York, in October, 1765. They asserted their rights in strong terms; preferred a petition to the king, and a memorial to parliament. They entered into an association, not to import British manufactures, till the act should be repealed. In order to avoid using stamps, the courts of justice were shut up, and people settled their controversies by arbitration.

People in England were differently effected by the disturbances in America. Some were for supporting the authority of parliament at all events; but others, especially the merchants and manufacturers, were clamorous for peace.—The ministry becoming unpopular, Mr. Grenville was dismissed, and was succeeded by the marquis of Rockingham; and on the 22d of February, 1766, this obnoxious law was repealed.

This event caused great joy in America. Yet the parliament, at the same time, asserted their supremacy in an act wherein it was declared, That they had a power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.—This statute, which, in fact, deprived the Americans of every right, was overlooked; as being only in words, and which they hoped would never be carried into effect.

Many in Britain were still of opinion, that a revenue ought to be raised in America; and were anxiously waiting for an opportunity to effect their design.—Another attempt was made; but the plan was changed. Instead of an internal tax, duties were to be levied on certain articles imported. Mr. Charles Townsend,

chancellor of the exchequer, in May, 1767, moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in bills for levying a duty upon paper, glass, painters' colours, and tea. Two bills for these purposes received the royal assent.

These acts occasioned fresh disturbances in America. A determined opposition against parliamentary taxation was again manifested. The colonies again entered into a non-importation agreement. In petitions, they prayed for a redress of grievances; and in resolutions, they stated their rights.—Parliament seemed, for a while, determined to enforce obedience; but they did not persevere. The British manufacturers were clamorous, because their trade was suffering by the non-importation agreement. The ministry were embarrassed and indecisive, and at length gave assurance of a repeal of those obnoxious laws.

The repeal took place in 1770, except that of three pence a pound on tea. This trifling and ill judged reservation, prevented a cordial reconciliation, and in a short time produced an open rupture. A temporary calm, however, took place: for though the duty on tea was still in force, the Americans resolved to evade it, by not importing any upon which it was payable.

The colonists were highly elated in having thus twice defeated the attempts of parliament to tax them. Their non-importation agreements so evidently distressed the manufacturers of Britain, that they imagined she was, in fact, far more dependent upon them, than they were upon her. Doctrines were boldly advanced by some, which tended to question the right of parliament to control their trade; and calculations were made, to shew the great sums that this monopoly carried into the British treasury.

Many, however, hoped that the contention between the two countries would now terminate; and that Britain would neither revive her claims, nor the colonies bring their speculations into effect. But the late ferments, though allayed, were not extinguished.

In Massachusetts new troubles broke out. Various causes contributed to keep alive the spirit of discontent in that colony:—Introducing a military force into

Boston, with a view to overawe the inhabitants,—stationing vessels of war in the harbour,—making the governor and judges independent of the province,—and establishing a board of commissioners, for collecting the revenue to be raised by authority of parliament. The people of New England were also less attached to Britain, than those of most of the other colonies : few emigrants had lately come to that part of the continent. They were chiefly descendants of the first settlers. Their ancestors had been persecuted, and banished from Britain ; and they now experienced the arbitrary conduct of that country towards themselves.

On the other hand, the inhabitants were looked on by the ministry as a turbulent, factious people, who aimed at independence ; and coercive measures only were supposed necessary to secure their obedience.

The discontents in New England had, in several instances, broke out into actual violence ; particularly in burning a British armed schooner in Providence river ; and in Boston, on the 5th of March, 1770, when a party of the military fired upon, and killed several of the inhabitants, who had previously insulted, threatened, and attacked them. The soldiers were tried, and acquitted of murder. But this event sunk deep into the minds of the people : and the anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity for many years.

In 1770, an insurrection broke out in North Carolina, not connected with the general opposition to Britain. A number of people rose in arms, demanding that the courts of justice should be shut ; that the officers of government should resign ; and that no taxes should be levied : This is no new spirit among licentious people. Governor Tryon marched against the insurgents, and totally defeated them in battle.

The ministry were disappointed in raising a revenue from tea, in consequence of the American association to import none on which a duty was chargeable. The East-India company also felt the bad effects of the colonial smuggling trade, by the large quantity of tea remaining in their warehouses. They urged

the minister, Lord North, to take off the American duty of three pence per pound, and they would pay double the sum on exportation. This offer was rejected; but a drawback was allowed on the tea they should export to the colonies. The company agreed to this plan, and became their own factors. They sent six hundred chests of tea to Philadelphia, the like quantity to New York and Boston, besides what was consigned to other places; and appointed agents for the disposal of the commodity.

In the mean time, the colonists, who well knew what had passed in the mother country, were concerting measures to counteract the views of the British ministry. Town meetings were held in the capital cities of the different provinces; and it was resolved to obstruct the sale of the tea, and even to prevent it from being landed. The captains of the ships which arrived at Philadelphia and New York, being apprized of the determination of the citizens, returned with their cargoes. At Charleston, the tea was landed, but not offered for sale. In Boston, the business terminated in a different manner. The tea ships were prevented from returning; express orders being sent by the governor, to the armed vessels in the bay, to stop every vessel which had not a pass signed by himself. The inhabitants therefore resolved to destroy it. A number of persons, dressed as Indians, went on board the ships, and in about two hours, hoisted out, and broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, the contents of which they threw into the sea.— They were not in the least molested, and the whole was conducted with very little tumult. No damage was done to the vessels, or any other property. When the business was finished, the people returned quietly to their habitations. This took place in November, 1773.

These proceedings irritated the ministry. A message from the king to both houses of parliament, was presented, in which he particularly mentioned the destruction of the tea. It was determined to punish the Bostonians for their refractory behaviour. In March, 1774, bills were brought into parliament, to shut up

the port of Boston, and to transfer the seat of government to Salem,—to new model the government of Massachusetts Bay,—to transport persons charged with crimes, in Massachusetts, to another colony, or even to England for trial. These bills all received the royal assent. Several respectable members of both houses, reprobated these severe and dangerous proceedings. Petitions were also presented against their being carried into effect. But the ministry were determined to bring the colonies in absolute submission to the authority of Britain.

When intelligence of these acts reached America, the whole continent was in a flame. Though they were levelled against Massachusetts, every colony considered itself included : and that their property and liberty were to be sacrificed to ministerial and parliamentary vengeance : they resolved to make a common cause with the people of New England. In order to obtain a unanimity of measures, it was proposed, that a Congress should meet at Philadelphia in September.

The first of June, 1774, was the time appointed for shutting up the port of Boston. That eventful day was kept in many places as a day of mourning. The sympathy of the colonies was also manifested by liberal contributions for the people of that town ; many of whom, by the operation of the port bill, were deprived of their usual means of subsistence. They were considered as suffering in the common cause.

The British ministry, fearing the consequences of the laws that were enacted, ordered a military force to Boston ; and general Gage, the commander in chief, was appointed governor of Massachusetts. These measures served still further to irritate the people of that province. To be prepared for every event, they began to arm in their own defence, and spent much time in acquiring the military art. These proceedings, and a manifest disposition to resistance, alarmed the general, who thought it necessary, for the safety of his troops, as well as to secure the important post of Boston, to fortify the neck, which afforded the only communication by land, between that town and the country.

On the 5th of September, 1774, Congress met at Philadelphia. Twelve colonies sent deputies to this assembly.—It was composed of the most influential characters, and was a faithful representation of the people. They published a declaration of rights, in which they claimed an exemption from being taxed by parliament, but submitted to the regulation of their commerce,—they addressed general Gage, and entreated him to forbear hostilities,—entered into a non-importation and non-exportation agreement,—presented an address to the people of Great Britain, and a petition to the king.*—These papers were 'all drawn up with an uncommon degree of animation, firmness, and eloquence. After a session of eight weeks, they dissolved themselves; having previously given their opinion, that another Congress should meet in May following, unless their grievances were redressed before that time.

The proceedings of Congress met with the approbation of the people. Though they had only an advisory power, their recommendations were as effectually carried into execution as the laws of the best regulated states. The colonial legislatures, except that of New York, sanctioned their proceedings. Provincial Congresses, and subordinate committees of inspection, and observation, for cities, counties, and districts, were chosen by the people. These carried the resolutions of the general Congress into effect. The opposition to Britain now assumed the appearance of a regular system, and the whole continent was apparently moved by one will.

Gen. Gage summoned the legislature of Massachusetts to convene at Salem, in October. He afterwards countermanded them. But the members assembled, and organised themselves into a provincial Congress.—They drew up a plan for the immediate defence of the province, organised the militia, and ordered a select number of them to be ready to march at a minute's warning; collected provisions and ammunition; and voted money to carry their resolutions into effect.

* See Chap. VIII. of this work.

Commissioners from New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, met with a committee from Massachusetts, and engaged to assist them in their struggle for freedom.

When the proceeding of the general Congress reached Britain, the first impression seemed favourable to America.—Petitions were presented from London, and almost all the manufacturing towns in the kingdom, for a repeal of the obnoxious laws. Lord Chatham brought in a bill, which he hoped would bring about a conciliation. The ministry rejected this bill, the petition of the British merchants, and the petition from Congress.

At the same time, Lord North gave a sketch of the measures he intended to pursue. He was to send a greater force to America; and to bring in a bill to restrain the foreign trade of the colonies of New England, particularly their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty. This bill was brought in and passed. Another act also passed, to restrain the commerce of the rest of the colonies, except North Carolina and New York. Great opposition was made to these measures, in both houses of parliament. But it was replied, that as the colonies had refused to trade with Britain, they ought to be restrained from trading any where else.

To bring the nation to unanimity, however, was a desirable object with the ministry.—Lord North, to shew that he was not averse to conciliation, brought into the House of Commons, on the 20th of February, 1775, what was called his Conciliatory Motion; the substance of which was, that when any colony should tax itself, in such a sum as would be satisfactory, parliament would forbear to tax such colony. This motion passed the house. It was expected to unite the people of Britain, even if it was refused by the Americans. When transmitted to the colonies, they unanimously rejected it, as being unreasonable and insidious.*

* See Chap. VIII.

The ministry immediately ordered a large reinforcement of troops to Boston ; and appointed generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, men of great military talents, to accompany them. These troops, joined with those already in America, would make an army of ten thousand men. It was fully believed in Britain, that this powerful force, under the direction of such able generals, would be sufficient to reduce the colonies to submission. The Americans were said in parliament to be cowards, and would not venture to make any serious opposition ; or if any military resistance was attempted, a speedy and decisive conquest would be the consequence.

CHAP. V.

OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

SECT. I.—*The Year 1775**The Commencement of Hostilities—Congress meets—Siege of Boston.*

“THE beginning of strife,” says the wise man, “is like the letting forth of waters.” It was eminently so in the contest between Britain and her colonies : The causes of discontent were at first few ; they continually encreased ; produced all the calamities of a civil war ; and issued in the total separation of the empire.

The provincial Congress of Massachusetts, though careful not to be the aggressors by commencing hostilities, were yet preparing for extremities. They had ordered a magazine of provisions and ammunition to be collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, knowing that these stores were designed for a provincial army, determined to destroy them. On the night of the 18th of April, he detached eight hundred of the royal army, under the command of col. Smith, on this expedition. Intelligence of this movement, though great pains had been taken to keep it secret, was sent into the country ; and the militia assembled to oppose it. About five in the morning of the 19th, the British came up with a party of them under arms at Lexington. Major Pitcairn, who commanded the advanced corps, rode up to them, and called out, “ Disperse, you rebels, throw down your

arms, and disperse." They still continuing in a body, he discharged his pistol, and ordered his men to fire. They did so, and killed three of the militia; who then dispersed. The troops proceeded to Concord, and destroyed the stores. Another party of militia were assembled there; the British fired and killed two of them. The king's troops then returned towards Boston.

In the mean time, the provincials assembled in arms, and began to harass the British. General Gage, fearing this event, detached lord Percy, with nine hundred men, and two pieces of cannon, to support colonel Smith. The junction of this detachment, with the aid of cannon, awed the provincials, and gave colonel Smith's party a breathing time; yet the whole force did not venture to halt long, as the militia were every where collecting, in order to cut off their retreat.—They soon renewed their march. A continual fire from behind the walls, by good marksmen, for such were almost all the militia, put the troops into no small confusion; and made it so dangerous for the officers, that they were more attentive to their own safety than usual. They made their retreat, a little after sun-set, to Bunker's hill; but spent and worn down by the excessive fatigue they had undergone, in a march of near forty miles. Here they remained secure till the next day, when they returned to Boston. In this battle, the British troops had sixty-five men killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners; the provincials had fifty men killed, thirty four wounded, and four missing.

The news of the commencement of hostilities spread rapidly through the continent, and exceedingly agitated the public mind. The people were filled with indignation at the British, and determined to take part with their brethren of Massachusetts. Military associations were formed; and the militia every where organised. The arms, ammunition, and forts, in the different colonies, were taken possession of by the people.

Immediately after the battle of Lexington, militia from all parts of New England flocked towards Boston,

and in a few days that town was besieged by twenty thousand men. The command of this force was given by the provincial Congress to general Ward.

The troops from Britain, with generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, arrived in May. Thus reinforced, general Gage, wearied of being cooped up in Boston, resolved to make himself master of Dorchester heights: but this design was frustrated by an unexpected movement of the provincial army.

On the 16th of June, orders were issued by the commander, for a detachment of a thousand men to entrench upon Bunker's hill. By some mistake, Breed's hill, high and large like the other, but situated on the furthest part of a peninsula, near to Boston, was marked out for the entrenchment. The provincials proceeded to it; and pursued their business with so much diligence and alacrity, that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a strong redoubt and entrenchment.—The provincials continued to complete their lines, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy's ships, floating batteries, and fortifications on Cop's hill in Boston.

This movement, equally unexpected and alarming, rendered it necessary for the British to relinquish their plan for taking possession of Dorchester, and attack Breed's hill. About noon, a number of boats and barges, with about three thousand troops, under command of general Howe, landed at Moreton's point.—They then advanced deliberately, frequently halting, that the artillery might have time to demolish the works.

General Gage had resolved to burn Charleston, if the Americans should attempt to fortify the posts adjoining it. While the British were advancing to the attack, orders were issued for executing this resolution. A few shells were thrown from Cop's hill, and the whole town, being built of wood, was instantly in a blaze. The appearance was grand and awful.

The provincials had no other arms than common musquets, and even those unfurnished with bayonets. However, they were almost all marksmen. They reserved their fire until the British were within thirty

or forty yards : a furious discharge of small arms, then did such execution, that the regulars retreated in disorder. It was with difficulty their officers got them to return to the charge. The Americans again reserved their fire, and suffered them to approach within twenty or thirty yards ; when they were a second time put to flight. Gen. Howe, and the other officers, redoubled their exertions ; and gen. Clinton, who had observed their situation from Cop's hill, hastened over to their assistance, and joined them in a critical moment. Unhappily, the Americans now found themselves in want of powder, and could not obtain a supply ; while the British obtained a farther advantage, by bringing some cannon to bear, so as to rake the inside of the breast work from end to end. At this juncture, the regulars made a decisive push, and the fire from the ships and batteries was redoubled. The provincials were then obliged to retreat.

The battle of Breed's hill was extremely bloody, and fatal to the British, particularly in officers. The loss, according to general Gage, amounted to one thousand and fifty four, of whom two hundred and twenty-six were killed ; of these nineteen were commissioned officers : A lieutenant colonel, two majors, and seven captains, and seventy other officers, were wounded. The provincials had one hundred and thirty nine killed, among whom was general Warren, who was much regretted : two hundred and twenty-eight wounded, and thirty-six missing ; in all, four hundred and thirty-three.

The actions of Lexington and Breed's hill produced many important consequences :—The American militia were led to a confidence in their own ability ;—the British troops were astonished to find men, who were represented as cowards, and totally devoid of military talents, so bold in attack, and resolute in defence ;—and the colonists were animated, by the success of these first exertions, to persevere in defending their rights.

On the 10th of May, deputies from twelve colonies met in Congress at Philadelphia. In June following,

delegates from Georgia attended. The confederacy now assumed the name of *The Thirteen United Colonies*. The supreme power being, by general consent, lodged in the hands of Congress, they proceeded to take vigorous measures for the defence of the colonies :—They raised an army ; commissioned privateers ; built ships of war ; established a post-office ; and emitted bills of credit. A reconciliation with Britain was not, however, lost sight of : they again petitioned the king ; addressed the people of Britain and Ireland ; and set forth a declaration of the necessity of taking up arms.* The petition to the king was presented by Mr. Penn, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania ; who was afterwards informed, that to it “ no answer would be given.”

On the 15th of June, Congress unanimously chose George Washington to be commander in chief of the army. This gentleman was a delegate to Congress from Virginia. He had gained experience in the late war with France ; was brave, popular, prudent, and zealous in the cause of America. He accepted the appointment ; but refused any pay for his service except the defraying of his expenses. In the beginning of July, he joined the army before Boston. The American army amounted to fourteen thousand men. The troops were under little subordination, and continually fluctuating between the camp and their farms. Artillery, ammunition, and camp equipage, were either scarce, or totally wanting. All the powder in the camp amounted only to nine rounds a man. The British had intelligence of this circumstance by a deserter, but did not credit it ; not thinking it possible the Americans would pretend to besiege them, destitute of so necessary an article. A few weeks afterwards, several store ships, bound for Boston, were captured by New England privateers. These vessels contained a supply of many articles essential to the army.

On the 18th of October, captain Mowatt, of the British navy, burned one hundred and thirty-nine houses, and two hundred and seventy-eight stores and other

* See Chap. VIII.

buildings, being the far greater and better part of the town of Falmouth, because its inhabitants refused to load a vessel with masts for the navy. It was a wanton destruction of property; and was followed by many similar acts in the course of the war.

The British undertook no other expedition during the remainder of the year, except sending out foraging parties to the islands in Boston bay. These parties were constantly opposed by the provincials, who generally had the advantage in skirmishing. The regulars experienced all the inconveniences of a blockade, and were in want both of provisions and firewood. Most of the store ships, designed for their relief, were either taken or lost.

The American army was prevented from pressing the siege, by the scarcity of ammunition. The supply of powder in the camp, notwithstanding every exertion to procure it, was inadequate to a bombardment of the town. About the end of the year, the term of enlistment of the troops expired; and a new army was engaged. It was a critical movement for the general to change his whole force in the face of an enemy, but it was performed without molestation.

The situation of America, at the commencement of hostilities, was singularly interesting. She had no regular government, was without an army and a navy, destitute of money, had few manufactures, her commerce annihilated, and was little experienced in the arts of war or finance. In this situation, she entered the lists with the most powerful nation of Europe; who had a formidable navy, a veteran army, flourishing manufactures, an extensive commerce, and an unlimited credit. It was a striking contrast. The difficulties America had to encounter were great; but the prize she contended for was glorious. "We have counted the cost," said Congress, "and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery."

SECT. II.—1775 and 1776.

The invasion of Canada—Events in Virginia and North Carolina—Proceedings in Parliament.

THE necessity of securing Ticonderoga had occurred to many in New England. A few gentlemen in Connecticut undertook the business: they applied to the assembly for a loan of eighteen hundred dollars; and immediately set off for Bennington, to consult with colonel Allen. He collected about two hundred and seventy men, and proceeded to Castleton, where he was joined by colonel Arnold with one servant. Col. Arnold had been commissioned by the committee of safety of Massachusetts, to raise four hundred men, for the reduction of the same fortress. He joined in the expedition. They immediately proceeded to Ticonderoga, where they arrived on the 9th of May. The commander was surprised in bed, and ordered to surrender. No resistance was made; and the fort, with its valuable stores, fell into the hands of the Americans. It was in a ruinous condition, and garrisoned by forty-four men. Crown Point soon after fell into the hands of the Americans.

Ticonderoga is situated on the frontiers of New York, and commands the entrance into Canada. With a view both to prevent an invasion from that quarter, and to induce the Canadians to join the confederacy, it was judged expedient to order a body of troops into that province. About the latter end of August, general Montgomery, with one thousand men, set forward on this expedition. He drew up a declaration, which he sent among the Canadians by Col. Allen and major Brown; assuring them, that the army was designed only against the English garrisons, and not against the country, their liberties, or religion. Col. Allen, on his return, was captured by the British; who put him in irons, and sent him to England.

Gen. Montgomery, in October, advanced and laid siege to St John's, on the river St. Lawrence, the first British post in Canada; but the great want of

powder damped the hope of terminating it successfully. To remedy this, the Americans planned an attack upon Chamblec, a fort six miles distant, which they soon reduced, and carried the artillery and powder, in batteaux, to the siege of St. John's. Governor Carleton made an attempt to relieve the garrison, but was repulsed, and obliged to retire. After a short demur, the fort surrendered. About five hundred regulars became prisoners to the provincials. They acquired, by these captures, thirty nine pieces of cannon, ten mortars, eight hundred stand of arms, other stores, and about six tons of powder. Of all these articles they were in great want.

On the 12th of November, general Montgomery pressed on to Montreal; which, not being capable of making any defence, governor Carleton evacuated it. Here the Americans obtained a plentiful supply of clothing; and in the river took several boats, loaded with ammunition, provisions, and entrenching tools.

About the same time that Canada was invaded by the way of Ticonderoga, colonel Arnold, with one thousand men, was detached from the army at Cambridge, for Quebec. This little army marched by a new rout. They ascended the Kennebeck river, and penetrated through the wilderness three hundred miles, till they came to the settled parts of Canada. Great were the hardships they suffered in this march. Provisions were so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, cartouch boxes, and shoes. Col. Arnold, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, arrived before Quebec; and had he made an immediate attack, might probably have carried the city. It was destitute of troops, and many of the inhabitants would have joined the assailants. But being destitute of artillery, he lay inactive.

Notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, when Montreal was taken, gen. Montgomery marched on for the capital, formed a junction with colonel Arnold, and on the 5th of December appeared before Quebec. Gen. Carleton had been very active on his return, to put the city in a state of defence. He mounted cannon, and armed some of the inhabitants and sailors. But regarding the inclemency of the season,

Montgomery set about erecting works. His batteries were composed of snow and water, which soon became solid ice. He planted on them five pieces of ordnance, twelve and nine pounders, with one howitzer; but the artillery was too light, and made no impression on the works. He then determined to storm the city: and in the council of war held on the occasion, shewed the necessity, practicability, and importance of it, in such a manner, that the officers unanimously agreed to the measure.

Two feints were to be made against the upper town, by colonel Livingston and major Brown. The principal attack was against the lower town, by gen. Montgomery and colonel Arnold. In the night of the 31st of December, the army proceeded against the town, and part of them had passed the first barrier; when the general, his aid-de-camp, captain M'Pherson, captain Cheeseman, and others, were killed. The troops were then called off by the next in command.—The division under colonel Arnold was equally unsuccessful. The colonel received a wound in one of his legs from a musket ball, and was carried to the hospital. His men, under captain Morgan, maintained their ground, till ten o'clock, when all hopes of relief being over, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. In this attack the provincials lost upwards of one hundred men, killed, and three hundred were taken prisoners. The death of general Montgomery was much regretted. General Carleton gave him a decent funeral, and Congress ordered a monument to be erected to his memory.

After the unsuccessful attack upon Quebec, a council of war agreed, that col. Arnold should continue the siege, or rather the blockade; which was accordingly done, at no small risk, as they had not more than four hundred men fit for duty. They retired about three miles from the city, and posted themselves advantageously.

Soon after the commencement of hostilities, most of the royal governors retired on board ships of war; and after hovering some time on the coasts, finding their

master's cause desperate, they returned to England. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, seemed the most unwilling to relinquish his office. After sundry alterations with the legislature, he retired, in May, 1775, on board the *Fowey*, in York river. He collected a small marine force, and carried on a predatory war for some months;—burned houses, carried off property, and ravaged plantations. He promised freedom to such negroes and servants as would join the royal standard. Numbers of them resorted on board his ships. He landed his motley army near Norfolk, and constructed a fort at the Great bridge. The Virginia troops fortified themselves near the same place. The royalists attacked them on the 9th of December, but were defeated. Dunmore was obliged to retire on board his ships. He lay for a while near Norfolk, but being annoyed from the town, he resolved to destroy it. The morning of the 1st of January, 1776, he commenced a violent cannonade from his ships, and his sailors set fire to the houses. The whole town was reduced to ashes. It was the most populous, and considerable for commerce, of any town in Virginia; and contained about six thousand inhabitants. By this barbarous act, they were reduced to great distress at the most inclement season of the year.

His lordship continued on the coasts, and in the rivers of Virginia, till the closeness and filth of the vessels in which the fugitives were crowded, together with the heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, produced a pestilential fever; which made great havoc, especially among the negroes. When at length every place was shut up against him, and neither water nor provisions were to be obtained, but at the expense of blood, it was found necessary to burn several of the smaller and least valuable vessels, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Americans; and to send the remainder, with the exiled friends of government, to seek shelter in Florida, Bermudas, and the West Indies.

Governor Martin, of North Carolina, in order to re-establish the royal government, sent commissioners.

to the back parts of the province, to levy men among the Highland emigrants, who had lately arrived. In February, about fifteen hundred of these people embodied, and marched to join the governor. On their way, they attacked a body of militia, that were stationed to oppose them, at Moore's creek bridge, and were totally defeated.

The British parliament met in October, 1775. During this session, the ultimate plan for reducing the colonies was fixed. The Americans were declared out of the royal protection. A force of twenty-eight thousand seamen, and fifty-five thousand land troops were voted for the ensuing campaign. Treaties were formed with several German princes, and sixteen thousand foreign mercenaries were hired to be sent to America. General Howe was appointed commander in chief; and his brother, lord Howe, admiral. The brothers were also appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, receiving their submission, and granting pardons to such as should be found deserving of the king's mercy.

A respectable opposition, in both houses, protested against the violent measures that were adopted. But the ministry, finding the majority of parliament, and of the nation, in their favour, determined to proceed with vigour, and hoped to make the next campaign decisive. Three expeditions were to be carried on in America: the first against the southern colonies, by general Clinton, and Sir Peter Parker; the second in Canada, by general Carleton; and third, and chief, under the direction of general and lord Howe, against New York, and the middle colonies.

SECT. III:—*The year 1776.*

Boston evacuated—Attack on Sullivan's Island—Campaign in Canada.

EARLY in 1776, matters came to a crisis with the British in Boston. On the 15th of February, general

Washington laid before the council of war the following question: "A stroke well aimed, at this critical juncture, may put a final period to the war, and restore that peace and tranquillity, so much to be wished; and therefore, whether (part of Cambridge and Roxbury being froze over) a general assault should not be made on Boston?" General Ward opposed the idea; and said, "The attack must be made with a view of bringing on an engagement, or of driving the enemy out of Boston, and will be answered much better by possessing Dorchester heights." When the votes were called for, the majority were against the attack. It was, however, determined to possess themselves of Dorchester heights. The night of the 4th of March, was the time appointed for taking possession of the heights. To conceal this design, a bombardment of the town took place, which was carried on with as much briskness, as their scanty stock of powder would admit.—While the cannon were playing in the other parts, a strong working party of twelve hundred men threw up entrenchments, and before morning completed their lines of defence.

The British were astonished at the rapid progress the provincials had made in one night. The admiral informed general Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, not one of his majesty's ships could stay in the harbour. It was therefore determined, in a council of war, to dislodge them; and preparations were made to begin the attack next morning. But in the night a violent storm came on, which rendered it impossible for the British to execute their design. A council of war was again called, when it was agreed to evacuate the town. The time that had been gained by the Americans for strengthening their works, took away all hopes of any successful attack on them by the British forces.

On the 7th of March, a flag was sent from the selectmen, acquainting general Washington with general Howe's intention of evacuating Boston, and that he was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he could retire uninterrupted. Gen. Washington bound himself under no obligation, but intimated his good

wishes for the preservation of Boston. On the 17th, the embarkation of the British was completed, and the fleet soon after left the harbour.

The British sailed for Halifax. After their departure, a number of transports and store ships, not knowing of the evacuation, sailed into the harbour, and fell into the hands of the Americans.

A small fleet, which had been fitted out in the winter, at Philadelphia, returned in April from a successful cruise. They had made a descent on the island of Providence : took two forts, which they dismantled of the cannon, and other warlike stores ; made the governor prisoner ; and on their return home, captured a number of vessels. • •

General Clinton, with some troops, sailed from Boston, before its evacuation. He first touched at New York, and visited governor Tyron, on board a vessel near the harbour ; he then waited on lord Dunmore, on the coast of Virginia ; and proceeded to Cape Fear, in North Carolina. Here he was joined by Sir Peter Parker, with a squadron directly from Europe. They resolved to attempt the reduction of Charleston ; and in the beginning of June anchored off the bar.

The inhabitants of South Carolina expected a visit from the enemy, and had put their capital in a state of defence. The whole force was under the direction of general Lee, who had been detached from the main army, to watch the motions of Clinton at the time he sailed from Boston. On Sullivan's island, a convenient post commanding the channel, strong works were erected. The garrison consisted of about four hundred men, commanded by colonel Moultrie.

On the 28th of June, Sir Peter Parker attacked the fort with two fifty gun ships, four frigates, and some sloops. The attack commenced at ten in the forenoon, and continued till night. The ships then slipped their cables and retired ; they were greatly damaged, and upwards of two hundred men on board were killed or wounded. One of the frigates having run aground, was burnt. The garrison made a most gallant defence, and suffered but little : ten men were killed, and

twenty-two wounded. General Clinton, with the land forces, were stationed at Long Island ready to pass over to Sullivan's Island; but the extreme danger to which the troops would have been exposed in crossing, induced him to relinquish the design. After refitting the shattered vessels, the British sailed from the harbour of Charleston, to join gen. Howe at New York.

At the same time this attempt was made on the sea coast of Carolina, the Cherokee Indians, under the direction of the British, attacked the western frontier. A large body of militia marched against them; traversed their country, burned their towns, and destroyed their corn. In less than three months this expedition was completed, and the Cherokees so far subdued as to sue for peace.

The blockade of Quebec was continued under great difficulties, by the American troops under general Arnold. Although their number did not amount to one third of the garrison, yet by intercepting their supplies of provision, they reduced them to distress. General Carleton, who had the command in the city, had little confidence in the inhabitants; and made no effort to dislodge the Americans during the winter; prudently waiting till he should be enabled to commence active operations in the spring.

Congress, desirous of striking a decisive blow in Canada, previous to the arrival of reinforcements from England, and encouraged by the success which at first attended gen. Montgomery, had resolved that nine battalions should be kept up in that province. The news of gen. Montgomery's fall, did not extinguish the ardour of the Americans. Congress ordered the troops already enlisted to march with all possible speed; and that others should be raised for the same service. They also appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Carroll, to proceed to Canada, in order to induce the people to join the other colonies, and send deputies to Congress.

The measures were warmly seconded by the people at large. Householders cheerfully furnished what blankets could be spared from their families, for this ex-

pedition ; many thousands of hard dollars, for the use of the army in Canada, were readily exchanged at par, by individuals, for the paper bills of Congress ; and the recruiting business went on with spirit and success.

In April, a woman infected with the small pox, came from Quebec : and mixing with the American soldiers, spread the contagion amongst them. Various reinforcements had by this time arrived, and the army amounted to three thousand men ; but of these not more than nine hundred were fit for duty, owing to the ravages of that disease.

Such was the situation of the American army, when general Thomas took the command. However, he attempted to surprise the town ; and prepared fire ships to burn the vessels in the harbour ; but both plans failed.

Succours being daily expected from Britain, it was resolved to retreat immediately. But it was too late to do it with safety. Some ships arrived on the 6th of May, having forced their way through the ice, before such a measure was deemed practicable. The Americans immediately abandoned their artillery and stores, left their sick behind, and marched off with precipitation. General Carleton landed a number of troops on the very day of their arrival, joined them to those of the garrison, and pursued the retreating army. The Americans, when they reached the river Sorel, were joined by considerable reinforcements. Here general Thomas caught the small pox, and died. The command devolved on general Thomson.

The Americans had established a post at the cedars, forty miles above Montreal. This fort was besieged in May, by six hundred men. It surrendered after a faint resistance. A reinforcement marching to its relief, was attacked by a superior number of Indians and Canadians, and after an obstinate conflict, was defeated, and many of them murdered in cold blood by the Indians.

Towards the end of May, general Carleton found himself at the head of thirteen thousand effective regular troops. He fixed the principal rendezvous at Three Rivers, situated on the north side of St. Law-

rence, mid-way between Quebec and Montreal, and distant from each about ninety miles. The Sorel, where the Americans were posted, was about fifty miles higher up the St. Lawrence.

An enterprise of a perilous nature, was at this time projected, and undertaken by the Americans. About two thousand men, under general Thomson, embarked in boats, with a view to surprise a division of the British troops at Three Rivers. It was designed to make the attack at break of day, in four different quarters at the same time. But day-light appeared when they were six miles from their object. All hope of succeeding by surprise was therefore at an end : but an open attack was immediately resolved on. Having advanced three miles farther, they were fired on by the ships of war. This obliged them to take a circuitous rout, through woodlands and swamps. After sustaining great fatigue, they gained the open country near the village. In the mean time, the British troops had landed from their transports, and were advancing to gain the rear of the Americans. A retreat was then ordered. Though pursued by the enemy, they effected a passage through the woods, and arrived at the Sorel, with the loss of no more than two hundred men, mostly prisoners ; among whom was general Thomson.

The British army pushed forward, by land and water, for the Sorel, where they arrived on the 14th of June, a few hours after the rear of the American army had left it. General Sullivan, who some time before had taken the command, gained great honour by the manner in which this retreat was conducted. He saved all the baggage and public stores ; and brought off the sick, who were very numerous. On the first of July, he reached Crown Point ; and at that place made his first stand.

The only circumstance that saved general Sullivan's army, and prevented an immediate invasion of the colonies by the British, was the naval force of the Americans on Lake Champlain. The attention of general Carleton was immediately directed to overcome this obstacle ; and to acquire a superiority on the lake.—Here the exertions of the British seamen and soldiers

were almost incredible. In three months an armament of thirty vessels was completed.

Gen. Gates was appointed by Congress to command the northern army. He collected his principal force at Ticonderoga. A number of vessels were constructed at Skenesborough, in order to maintain a superiority on Lake Champlain. But the Americans were not possessed of the same means as the British, for increasing their naval armament. They had no more than fifteen vessels, the largest of which was a schooner, mounting twelve six and four pounders. This small fleet was commanded by col. Arnold.

On the 11th of October, the British attacked the colonel. He drew up his fleet with great skill, between an island and the main land. The action was maintained with equal courage on both sides, for some hours. When night came on, colonel Arnold, convinced of the great superiority of the enemy, took the opportunity to escape. Next morning, the wind proving favourable, the British pursued with all the sail they could crowd, and came up with the Americans near Crown Point, where a deperate engagement ensued, and was supported with great spirit for two hours. Col. Arnold, finding resistance ineffectual, ran his vessels on shore, and blew them up; having first landed the men.

Gen. Carleton, being now in possession of Lake Champlain, reconnoitered the works of the Americans at Ticonderoga; but finding them too strong to be taken by assault, and the season being too far advanced to hope for success by a regular siege, he returned to Canada, to obtain comfortable accommodations for his army.

Thus ended the expedition against Canada. It commenced with every prospect of success. But after the fall of Montgomery, the Canadians, who were at first friendly, and rendered essential services to the Americans, were disheartened; and the depredations committed on their property by the invaders disgusted them. The short terms of enlistment rendered the force of the Americans always fluctuating; and their numbers were often reduced by disease. The troops

brought such a spirit of liberty into the field, and thought so much for themselves, that they would not bear either subordination or discipline. They were brave; ready to be led to an attack, and willing to endure fatigue; but impatient of that strict controul and passive obedience that a military life requires.

Canada was evacuated with great reluctance. It was hoped, that this province would have joined the other colonies, in their opposition to Britain; which would have given them additional strength and security. But the scene changed;—instead of victory, the Americans experienced defeat; instead of invading, they were invaded with a formidable force from this province; as shall be afterwards related.

SECT. IV.—1776.

The Declaration of Independence—Battle of Long Island—New York taken—New Jersey overrun by the British, and recovered by the Americans.

THITHERTO, in the contest with Britain, the Americans exhibited a curious spectacle to the world.—A people strenuously opposing a government, which they still acknowledged; and a whole community existing in good order, without law or the regular administration of justice. The royal governors were withdrawn; the legislatures had no existence; and the courts of justice were shut. The authority exercised by Congress and Committees was discretionary, and their powers undefined.

The necessity of a change in the internal policy of the colonies became evident. On the 15th of April, 1776, Congress recommended to each of them to form a constitution, and to organize the government under the authority of the people. This proposal was well received, and conventions were immediately called, for the purposes recommended.

A total separation from Britain was now about to take place. The reasons that, at this time, were

ticularly inclined the Americans to this measure, besides the original grounds of the contest, were, the exciting the negroes to insurrection by Dunmore; engaging the Indians to desolate the frontiers; taking into pay an army of foreign mercenaries to invade the country; and the act of parliament declaring the colonies to be in open rebellion, and no longer under the protection of Britain. It was also argued that the same efforts that would induce Britain to grant the rights they contended for as colonists, would establish their independence; that no European power would give them assistance while they professed themselves subject to Britain; that it was preposterous for a large continent, increasing in wealth and population, to be subordinate to an island, in a distant part of the world; and that in the natural course of events, America must be independent, as she would become more powerful than the mother country. Early in 1776, the doctrine of Independence began to be freely discussed; and it speedily became a favourite measure.

The subject was taken up in Congress on the 7th of June. The motion was made by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams. It was warmly opposed by some members, and as strenuously supported by others. The eventful day arrived on which the political ties between Britain and her colonies were dissolved; and they assumed an equal rank among the nations of the earth. On the 4th of July, 1776, Congress passed the famous Declaration whereby the Thirteen United Colonies became free and independent States.*

This vote, which was nearly unanimous, was received by the people and by the army with unfeigned acclamations of joy. It was a magnanimous act: For though the Americans had been hitherto successful, yet they daily expected a superior army and fleet on their coasts, and general Howe, with part of the troops, were already at Staten Island;—and though they had been diligent in importing and manufacturing warlike stores, and clothing for the army, yet they were still

* See Chap. VIII.

deficient in these articles. They trusted in the protection of Heaven, and had confidence in the goodness of their cause. Great unanimity prevailed, yet on the declaration of independence several drew back; some joined the enemy, and others stood neuter. Notwithstanding these difficulties and embarrassments, there was a numerous band of worthies, who were determined to support their Independence, or perish in the attempt.

Though some bold and decided characters, might early have looked forward to independence, yet the great majority of the people, and of Congress, till 1776, had no farther intention than to obtain a repeal of the obnoxious acts of parliament, and a security of their rights under the protection of Britain.—Hence their petitions and addresses, their non-importation agreement, and their short enlistments; which were all of a temporary nature, and looked forward to reconciliation.

In a few months after the declaration of independence, the states had formed constitutions, and organized their government. A plan of confederation for the United States, was also agreed to in Congress, and sent to the states for ratification.

By this declaration, and these constitutions, the people saw precisely the objects for which they were to contend—Liberty and Independence. The attainment of these objects was worthy of their utmost efforts.—In no nation before, had the people an opportunity to establish governments for themselves. The Convention of Pennsylvania, who met in July, 1776, express their sense of the inestimable privilege, in the preamble to the constitution of that state: They say,—“Whereas it is absolutely necessary for the welfare and safety of the inhabitants of said colonies, that they be henceforth free and independent states, and that just, permanent, and proper forms of government exist in every part of them, derived from, and founded on the authority of the people only: We, the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, in general convention met, for the express purpose of framing such a government, confessing the goodness of the

great Governor of the Universe, (who alone knows to what degree of earthly happiness mankind may attain, by perfecting the arts of government) in permitting the people of this state, by common consent, and without violence, deliberately to form for themselves such just rules as they shall think best, for governing their future society; and being fully convinced, that it is our indispensable duty to establish such original principles of government, as will best promote the general happiness of the people of this state, and their posterity, and provide for future improvements, without partiality for, or prejudice against, any particular class, sect, or denomination of men whatever, do, by virtue of authority vested in us by our constituents, ordain, declare, and establish the following Constitution," &c.

Such were the sentiments, not only of the Convention of Pennsylvania, but of a great majority of the people of the United States.

It is now necessary to resume the history of the campaign; the most material part of which was the operations in the middle states. When the British were about to evacuate Boston, it was apprehended they would endeavour to establish themselves at New York. In order to oppose them, troops were dispatched for that city, and fortifications were erected on York Island and Long Island. In the beginning of April, general Washington fixed his head quarters at New York. His force amounted to about seventeen thousand men; many of whom were new levies, and destitute of arms. They were by no means adequate to the defence of such extensive works, against so powerful an enemy.

On the 25th of June, general Howe arrived off Sandy Hook, from Halifax, with the troops he formerly commanded at Boston. Admiral Lord Howe reached the same place about the middle of July. These gentlemen were appointed commissioners to restore peace and grant pardons. They sent a circular letter to several of the late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with their powers: and desiring them to publish the same as generally as possible, for the information

of the people. Congress, far from suppressing this communication, ordered it to be inserted in the newspapers.

The British troops had all arrived in August, and general Howe was at the head a well appointed army of twenty-four thousand men, assisted by a fleet which gave him the command of the coast. He resolved to begin his operations on Long Island. The necessary measures being taken by the admiral for covering the descent, the army was landed, without opposition. The Americans had a chain of works in this island, on a neck of land which defended a small peninsula; a ridge of hills run in front of the works, passable only at three places.—General Sullivan had the command.

On the 26th of August, general de Heister, with his Hessians, took post at Flatbush in the evening. The principal army, under the command of general Clinton, marched to the left of the Americans. The next day the attack began, soon after day-break, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under gen. Heister, and by gen. Grant on the sea coast. A warm cannonade, with a hot fire of small arms, were eagerly supported on both sides, for a considerable time. The Americans opposing gen. Heister, were the first that were apprised that the British had come round on the left. They immediately retreated in tolerable order, to recover their camp; but they were soon interrupted by gen. Clinton, who attacked them while quitting the heights to return to their lines. They were driven back, and again met the Hessians: and thus were alternately charged and intercepted. In these desperate circumstances, some regiments, overpowered and out numbered as they were, forced their way to the camp, through all the dangers with which they were surrounded.

The Americans under lord Stirling, who were engaged with general Grant, behaved with great bravery and resolution; but were so late in their knowledge of what passed elsewhere, that their retreat was cut off by the British troops, who, beside turning the left of the Americans, had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. However, a considerable body escaped

to the lines. The nature of the country, and the variety of the ground, occasioned a continuance of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughter, which lasted for many hours.

The British troops displayed great valour and activity on this occasion. So impetuous was their ardor, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained, by general Howe's orders, from attacking the American lines. The remembrance of Breed's hill probably prevented him from risking his troops in an attack on the works.

The Americans suffered great loss in killed and wounded. General Sullivan, lord Stirling, and eighty officers of inferior rank, were made prisoners, together with one thousand privates. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, did not exceed four hundred and fifty men.

During the engagement, general Washington had passed over to Long Island, time enough to witness, but too late to retrieve, the fortune of the day. He could not conceal his anguish, when he beheld the inexorable destruction in which so many of his best troops were involved. To concert measures proper to be taken, a council of war was called. It was determined that the troops should cross over to New York. The retreat commenced on the 30th of August, in the evening. The passage of the troops was so much retarded by the tide, and an unfavourable wind, that the last embarkation did not take place till six o'clock the next morning. But a providential circumstance concealed them from the enemy; after day-light a close fog hung over Long Island, till the whole of the troops and stores had crossed the ferry. Such was the silence and order observed in this famous retreat, that nine thousand men, with their baggage and stores, were withdrawn from their works, within a few hundred yards of the enemy, and transported across a ferry about a mile wide, without being discovered.

A few days after the evacuation of Long Island, general Sullivan was sent, on parole, with a message from Lord Howe to Congress; importing, that though

he could not at present treat with the assembly in the character they had assumed, yet he was desirous of a conference with some of their members in their private capacity; and that he and his brother were vested with full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America.

The answer to his message was, that Congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, could not, with any propriety, send part of their members to confer with his lordship, in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace upon equitable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think fit to make.

Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were appointed on this business; and in a few days they met lord Howe, on Staten Island.—The committee returned, and reported to Congress an account of their mission. It appeared that the commissioners had no other authority than that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as they should think proper to make; and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace, on submission. The result of the conference was published by order of Congress, for the information of the people.—In no place was a wish manifested to return to the domination of Britain.

After the battle of Long Island, the army was much dispirited. The militia went off by companies, and their licentious example infected the regular troops. In this crisis, it was determined to act on the defensive; and not to risk the army in a general engagement. The public stores were removed up the North river; and the army stationed in various places in and near New York. But shortly after, five ships of war having proceeded up the East river, which gave the enemy an opportunity of landing above the city, and cutting off their retreat, New York was evacuated.

On the 15th of September, the British landed a

considerable body of troops, under cover of their ships of war, between Kepp's bay and Turtle bay. A breast work had been erected at that place, and a party were stationed there to oppose the enemy, should they attempt to land. But the first appearance of danger was a signal for running away. Gen Washington came up, and attempted to rally the flying troops; but all his efforts were fruitless. They even deserted their general, and left him in a very hazardous situation. Exasperated by this dastardly conduct, he was inattentive to the danger that threatened him: for a moment he seemed resolutely determined to meet an honourable death, rather than be exposed to infamy, by the disgraceful conduct of men in whom he could no longer confide. His attendants at length took hold of the reins, and obliged him to retire. The British then marched into the city.

On the following day a skirmish took place, in which the Americans behaved with great bravery, and came off victorious. Most of these were the same men who had disgraced themselves on the preceding day, by running away. This was the first success since the opening of the campaign; and had a visible good effect in raising the spirits of the army.

A few days afterwards, a fire broke out in New York, and consumed near a thousand houses.

With a view of cutting off the communication between gen. Washington and the eastern states, and forcing him to an engagement, most of the British troops landed on Frog's-neck, towards Connecticut, on the 12th of October. The situation of the Americans was so extremely critical by this movement, that it was determined to quit the position on York Island, and possess a chain of grounds, extending from the vicinity of King's bridge almost to the White plains. This was immediately put in execution. The royal army in a few days approached towards White plains, and posted themselves on the opposite side of the river Brunx. A general engagement was now expected to take place. General M'Dougall, with sixteen hundred men, had taken post on a rising ground, at some distance from the main body. He was attacked on the 28th

of October, by a British detachment under general Lee; and a severe, though irregular battle, in which some hundreds fell on both sides, was carried on till the close of the day. The British lay upon their arms all night, expecting to attack the Americans next morning. But to risk a formal engagement was no part of the system formed by general Washington. He therefore retired farther up the country, and took a strong position near North Castle.

General Howe, finding himself baffled in every attempt to bring the Americans to an engagement that might prove decisive, without attacking them in their lines, which that cautious commander deemed too hazardous, he drew back his army, and proceeded to reduce Fort Washington, the only post the Americans occupied on New York Island. This was garrisoned by three thousand men. On the 15th of November, colonel Mifflin was summoned to surrender. He replied that he would defend the fort to the utmost extremity. Next morning the British attacked the lines in four different quarters. After a severe conflict, they carried the out-works, and approached within a hundred yards of the fort. The garrison then capitulated, and twenty-seven hundred men became prisoners of war. Not less than twelve hundred of the British were killed or wounded.

After the reduction of Fort Washington, the British prepared to attack Fort Lee, on the Jersey shore. Lord Cornwallis was detached on this business; and he had nearly executed a plan for enclosing the garrison between the Hackinsack and North rivers; but they were saved by a precipitate retreat. Great part of their cannon, stores, and tents, fell into the hands of the British. The American army was in many respects deficient for an active campaign. The want of waggons to remove their stores, and of light cavalry to give intelligence of the movements of the enemy, were particularly felt, and occasioned several disasters; especially at this time, and before on Long Island.

General Washington, in order to watch the progress of the British, crossed over to New Jersey with part of his army, leaving the remainder at North Castle,

under general Lee. The campaign had been unfortunate, and the American army was not only reduced by the number that had fallen in battle, and been taken prisoners ; but they were in much distress for want of the stores which had been captured by the British. The term for which the soldiers had been enlisted, expired in November and December. The army had been organised at the close of the preceding campaign, under the fallacious idea that an accommodation would take place within the year. The greatest depression of spirits prevailed in consequence of the reduction of Fort Washington, the capture of its garrison, and the evacuation of Fort Lee. The men now eagerly desired to return to their homes. No entreaties could induce them to continue longer in the field ; and no troops were ready to take their place.

Encouraged by these successful events, to hope for submission to royal authority, general and lord Howe issued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to all who should, within sixty days, appear before any officer of his majesty's government in America, and subscribe a certain declaration, expressive of their obedience to the laws. To such a state of despondency were the Americans reduced by their late misfortunes, that numbers eagerly embraced this opportunity of making their peace ; some of whom were men of wealth and influence, and some had been in Congress.

To retreat now was the only expedient. As general Washington arrived, successively, at Newark, Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and across the Delaware into Pennsylvania, his wretched remnant of an army was closely pursued by a numerous and well appointed enemy, who were elated with victory, and a sense of their own superiority ; and who continued in the field at this severe season of the year, in hopes of being able to annihilate the inconsiderable American force which yet remained.

General Washington had the address to consume nineteen days in this retreat, though the distance marched was not more than ninety miles. Scarcely a man joined the Americans in this march through the country. Nor did misfortunes end here. General

Lee had been ordered to join the commander in chief. At Baskin ridge, in New Jersey, he was taken prisoner in his bed, by a detachment of British light horse. He was alone, and at a distance from his troops. His capture, on account of his abilities, and experience in the art of war, was much regretted. An apprehension that, despairing of success, he had fallen into the enemy's hands at choice, tended still further to depress the spirit of the Americans.

General Washington's army, when he crossed the Delaware, on the 5th of December, consisted of no more than twenty-two hundred dispirited, half-naked troops; and two days after they were reduced to seventeen hundred. A division of the British army arrived at Trenton, reached the Delaware just as the rear guard of the Americans gained the opposite shore. Lord Cornwallis halted, with his troops, about four miles from Trenton. Preparations were made for crossing the Delaware early the next morning; but this plan was frustrated by the precaution of the Americans, who removed every boat out of the reach of the enemy. For the present they took up their quarters in Burlington, Bordenton, Trenton, and other towns in New Jersey, in daily expectation of being able to cross the Delaware upon the ice.

About this time Rhode Island was taken possession of by the British, without any opposition.

The vicinity of Philadelphia having now become the seat of war, Congress adjourned themselves on the 12th of December, to meet at Baltimore. They, at the same time, resolved that general Washington should be vested with extraordinary powers, to be exercised for six months, unless sooner revoked. In proportion as difficulties increased, Congress redoubled their exertions to oppose them. They addressed the several states in a most spirited manner. To excite the militia to take the field, men of influence were dispatched to different parts of the country. General Mifflin was on this occasion, particularly useful in Pennsylvania.

The affairs of the Americans were now at the utmost point of depression; but at this critical time, many

boldly stepped forth in their country's cause. General Washington was reinforced by fifteen hundred militia, mostly from Pennsylvania; who cheerfully renounced domestic ease, to encounter the hardships of military duty, in the most inclement season of the year.

The British troops were dashed with victory; they despised their adversary, and were indulging themselves in security. No event seemed so improbable as that the enemy, whom for several months they had constantly defeated, men who were half naked, and few in number, should in the depth of winter, cross the Delaware, and attack their conquerors.—This bold resolution, so contrary to the expectation both of friends and foes, was formed by general Washington. On the evening of Christmas day, he made arrangements for crossing the river, at three different ferries. Owing to the great quantity of ice, two of the divisions could not effect their passage. But gen. Washington was more fortunate: with much difficulty, his division made good their landing; marched for Trenton by two different roads, and completely surprised the enemy. They first made a shew of defence, and then attempted to retreat; but finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms. About nine hundred Hessians became prisoners. Their baggage, artillery, and stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss in killed or wounded, on either side, was trifling. On the evening of the same day, gen. Washington recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners.

The most beneficial effects resulted to the American cause from this successful enterprise. It animated both the people and the army. About fourteen hundred regular troops, whose time of service was just expired, agreed to stay six weeks longer. On the 28th of December, general Washington again crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. Immediately the enemy collected the whole of their detachments; and lord Cornwallis, leaving a brigade of three regiments at Princeton, and another at Maidenhead, pushed toward with the main body, to Trenton, in hopes of repairing, by a vigorous effort, the injury which had been sustained. On the 2d of January,

an advanced party of the Americans were attacked and driven in by the British, about four o'clock in the afternoon. They urged the pursuit to the bridge over Sampink, a creek which runs through Trenton: here they were checked by the artillery of the Americans, who had taken care to secure the bridge, and were posted on the other side of the creek. The enemy fell back out of the reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires for the night.

The inferiority of the Americans, both in numbers and discipline, and their being hemmed in by the enemy in front, and the Delaware in their rear, rendered their situation extremely hazardous — If ever the fate of America depended on the event of a day, it was now. Lord Cornwallis was advised to detach part of his troops to the Princeton road, to watch gen. Washington. This measure, which would probably have entirely ruined the American army, was not adopted.

To avoid coming to an unfavorable action, to shun the appearance of a direct retreat, and as the most likely way to preserve Philadelphia, it was proposed by gen. Washington, and agreed to in a council of war, that the army should march off in the night, and proceed by a circuitous route to Princeton, where they would meet with a detachment of the enemy, for which it was probable they would find themselves a sufficient match. The more effectually to cover this design, small parties were left to keep up the fires, to go the rounds, and to guard the bridge and passes across the creek. The main body decamped, and reached Princeton by break of day, where they fell in with the enemy. An attack was immediately commenced, and the centre of the Americans, upon being briskly charged by the British, gave way in disorder. At this critical moment, general Washington pushed forward, and exposed his person to the utmost danger. His men, inspired by this example, returned to the charge, and defeated the enemy. Of the British, sixty were killed, a great number wounded, and three hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was comparatively small: but general Mercer, and other valuable officers, were among the slain. After this engagement, it was

proposed to march to Brunswick, where the baggage and stores of the British army were left, which might easily have been destroyed, as the place was nearly defenceless. But the men having been without rest or provisions for two days and nights, and lord Cornwallis with a superior force in the rear, it was concluded to file off towards Morristown, that the army might enjoy that rest and refreshment they so much needed.

The Americans moved with such silence from Trenton, that the British knew nothing of the matter; and lord Cornwallis was preparing to attack them, when he heard the firing at Princeton. Alarmed at this manœuvre, he immediately returned, and without attempting to follow general Washington, marched to Brunswick and Amboy; from which place the British had the advantage of a water communication with New York. They soon after evacuated, or were driven from every other post they had held in New Jersey.

From the time the British landed on Long Island, till the surprise at Trenton, they had succeeded in every undertaking. Great was their insolence in this time of prosperity. They plundered the inhabitants, carried off their cattle, demolished their houses, and committed crimes of the most shocking nature. Though many had received protections from the British commanders, yet the soldiery disregarded them, and equally pillaged friend and foe. These acts of devastation operated strongly against the British interest. The inhabitants who could not be roused to defence by the love of their country, were now instigated by revenge. The whole country rose against the invaders, way-laid, and cut them off, whenever opportunities offered.

Thus ended the year 1776. Truly important in the page of American history. It was a crisis that tried men's souls. Great hardships were endured; and much virtue and magnanimity were displayed. When affairs were even at the lowest ebb, no one state, city, or district, not in the power of the enemy, offered to relinquish independence and submit to the British government. Providence crowned the efforts of America with success.—All the conquests the British had to boast of, after an expensive campaign, was only what they commanded by the mouths of their cannon.

SECT. V.—*The year 1777.**The Campaign in Pennsylvania—Philadelphia taken.*

AFTER the brilliant successes of the American army which have been related, general Washington fixed his winter quarters at Morristown. The militia soon after returned home, and a considerable time elapsed before the new levies were ready to supply their place. The army for some weeks did not exceed fifteen hundred men: yet these few troops were so judiciously stationed, as to make the parade of a considerable army. They perpetually harassed the enemy, cantoned in their neighbourhood, restrained their foraging parties, and were often successful in skirmishing. Both the British and the Americans were led to believe that general Washington's force, during the winter and spring, was far superior to what it really was.

In March, a party of the enemy was sent from New York, to destroy the American stores at Peekskill. On their approach, the few troops that were guarding the magazine, set fire to the store-houses and retired.

A more formidable expedition was undertaken against Danbury, in April. At this place, the Americans had a considerable quantity of stores, under a small guard. Governor Tryon, with two thousand men, was sent to destroy them. He burnt eighteen houses, and destroyed the stores, consisting of beef, flour, grain, and tents. On the approach of the British, the militia assembled, to the amount of five or six hundred men, and made arrangements to harass the enemy. In several skirmishes they behaved with great bravery; but gen. Wooster, at the age of seventy, was mortally wounded. The British lost about two hundred men.

A party of two hundred and seventy Americans, under colonel Meigs, made an excursion to Long Island, where they burned a number of vessels, destroyed a quantity of stores, and brought off ninety prisoners, without the loss of a man.—Another gallant exploit was performed by colonel Barton; and about

forty volunteers : On the night of 10th of July, they surprised general Prescott in his quarters, about five miles from Newport, Rhode Island, and took him and his aid-de-camp prisoners ; and though surrounded by a fleet and army, brought them safe to the continent.

The effective force of the army having been considerably weakened during the last campaign, by the small pox, general Washington caused the troops to be inoculated while in winter quarters. This was effected so secretly, that no advantage was taken of it by the enemy.

In May, general Washington left his quarters at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook, ten miles nearer to Brunswick. The high ground on which he encamped, exposed the British to his view, and enabled him to watch all their movements.

The first object of general Howe this campaign, was to get possession of Philadelphia, but he deemed it too hazardous to cross the Delaware, while general Washington was in force behind him. In order to induce him to quit his position, and bring on a battle, he advanced in great force to Somerset court-house. General Washington only detached some light troops to hang on the flanks of the British. In the mean time, the Jersey militia turned out with spirit, to prevent the enemy from again ravaging their country. After various manœuvres, and some skirmishes, gen. Howe, finding it impossible to bring on an engagement without attacking the camp of the Americans, changed his plan, and passed over to Staten Island, on the 30th of June, and entirely evacuated New Jersey. He soon after began to embark his army ; and on the 23d of July, sailed from Sandy Hook. The fleet consisted of two hundred and sixty-seven sail, on board of which were embarked sixteen thousand land forces. On the 21st of July they appeared off the capes of Delaware ; but they again put to sea, and were not heard of for three weeks.

General Howe's designs had hitherto been involved in great obscurity. At one time, it was conjectured, he was destined for New England ; at another, that

he had sailed for Charleston ; while many thought that the whole was a feint to draw gen. Washington from the North river ; and that he would return to New York, and march to join general Burgoyne, who was advancing from Canada. At length, information was received that the British had entered the bay of Chesapeake ; on which the American army advanced to oppose them. The fleet had been detained by contrary winds. It shewed the caution of general Howe, and the respect he entertained for the American army, that he took so long a circuit, in order to reach Philadelphia, rather than expose himself to be attacked while crossing the Delaware.

On the 2d of September, the British marched from the head of Elk. Gen. Washington, with about thirteen thousand men, including militia, had taken post upon Redclay-Neck, half way between Wilmington and Christiana ; but upon the approach of the enemy, this position was abandoned, and he crossed the Brandywine, took possession of the heights to the eastward of Chad's ford, and prepared to dispute the passage.

On the 11th of September, by the break of day, the British advanced in two columns ; the right under the command of general Knyphausen, marched directly for Chad's ford, with an apparent intention of passing it, while Lord Cornwallis, with the left, took a circuitous route, by the forks of Brandywine, for the purpose of gaining the right flank of the Americans. As soon as Knyphausen found that lord Cornwallis had made good his passage, and was engaged with the Americans, he crossed the ford, and after a severe conflict, forced the troops posted for its defence to give way. The divisions on the right were also defeated by Cornwallis, though they behaved well. General Washington retreated to Chester. His loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about twelve hundred men, with nine pieces of artillery. Among the wounded was the marquis de la Fayette ; a young nobleman who had lately arrived from France, and voluntarily offered to serve in the army at his own expense. The British lost about six hundred men.

The battle of Brandywine was not counted decisive.

—After gathering in the dispersed parties, and reposing his army, general Washington advanced on the Lancaster road, in order to oppose the British. General Howe being on the same road, the armies met on the 16th of September, and were on the point of engaging; but were prevented by a violent storm of rain, which continued to pour down incessantly, all day and night.—The ammunition of the American army, not being well secured, was found in the morning to be entirely damaged. It became necessary to retreat, in order to get a fresh supply.—They crossed the Schuylkill above Philadelphia; and general Wayne, with fifteen hundred men, was detached to hang on the rear of the enemy. On the night of the 20th, he was surprised near the Paoli tavern, by a detachment under general Grey. The outposts and pickets were forced. The British rushed on with their bayonets, without firing a gun, and did great execution. About sixty men were killed, and seventy or eighty taken prisoners. The loss of the assailants did not exceed eight men.

Congress were a second time obliged to remove. They first retired to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown. The city of Philadelphia was thrown into the utmost confusion; and a majority of the active whigs were constrained to consult their safety by a precipitate retreat to various parts of the country.

General Howe crossed the Schuylkill, but instead of urging an action, began to march up the river towards Reading. Apprehensive for the safety of the stores deposited in that place, general Washington took a new position, hither up the river, leaving the British in possession of the roads leading to Philadelphia. Howe embraced the opportunity now offered, and marched for that city. The greater part of his army encamped at Germantown; and lord Cornwallis at the head of the grenadiers, made a triumphal entry into the capital of Pennsylvania, on the 26th of September.

Philadelphia was yet inaccessible to the British fleet, by reason of the obstructions in the river, and the strong batteries that had been erected for its defence.

General Howe detached part of his army for the purpose of reducing these forts. General Washington, having received a reinforcement, embraced this favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy at Germantown.

On the evening of the 3d of October, the Americans marched from their encampment at Skippack creek. About sunrise, on the 4th of October, they surprised the division of the British which was advanced on the Chesnut-hill road. These corps, after a short, but severe conflict, gave way, and were vigorously pursued into the village. A number of prisoners fell into the hands of the Americans, who were at first successful; but instead of following up their advantage, they stopped to attack a party of the enemy who had taken post in Mr. Chew's house; a strong stone building near the road side. Nearly one half of the army remained for some time inactive. This delay, together with the caution which the fogginess of the morning rendered necessary, gave the British time to recover from their surprise; and the promising appearances, on the part of the assailants, were reversed. The British being reinforced from the city, commenced an impetuous attack. The Americans were thrown into disorder, and retreated, after having supported a straggling kind of engagement for three hours. The loss of the royal army, including the prisoners and wounded, was something more than five hundred. Among the slain were brigadier general Agnew, and lieutenant colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including four hundred prisoners, was upwards of one thousand. Among the slain were general Nash, of North Carolina, and his aid-de-camp, major Witherspoon.

Shortly after this engagement, general Howe moved his army from Germantown to Philadelphia, and for his security, erected a chain of redoubts on the north of the city, from Delaware to Schuylkill.

Great exertions had been made by the Americans to secure Philadelphia from an attack by water. Besides thirteen gallies, two floating batteries, two zebeques, and a number of armed boats, fire-ships, and rafts, provided for this purpose, they had erected two strong

forts.—One of these, named Fort Mifflin, was on Mud Island.—This island lies about seven miles below Philadelphia. Directly opposite to it, on the Jersey shore, is an eminence, named Red-bank : here another strong battery was erected. Two ranges of chevaux de frise were also sunk in the channel.

General Howe was so straitened in his quarters that he could obtain few supplies from the country round Philadelphia. It was absolutely necessary either to open a communication with the fleet; or evacuate the city. A plan was concerted for attacking Fort Mifflin and Red-bank at the same time. Count Donop, with two thousand Hessians, crossed the Delaware, marched to Red-bank, and demanded a surrender of the fort. This being refused, an immediate attack was made. The fort having been intended for a much larger garrison than it contained; a line had been run within the works. The outer part being but slightly defended, was easily carried by the assailants, who raised a loud huzza for their supposed victory ; but a severe and well directed fire, from the garrison, obliged them, after a gallant attack, to retreat. They sustained a loss of four hundred men. Count Donop was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. The attack upon Fort Mifflin proved equally unsuccessful. The ships sent on this service, could not bring their guns to bear, with any considerable effect. The *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns, was blown up ; and the *Merlin* sloop of war ran aground, and was deserted by her crew.

By the sinking of the chevaux de frise, the main current was obstructed, and the water diverted into a new channel. The *Vigilant*, a large ship cut down so as to draw but little water, and carrying twenty four pounders, made her way through this passage, to a position from which she was enabled to enfilade the works. In a short time they were rendered untenable. The defence was brave and obstinate, and continued for six weeks. On the 15th November, the garrison made a safe retreat to Red-bank. Three days after the evacuation of Mud Island, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red-bank, on the approach of lord Cornwallis, with a strong force, prepared for an assault.

Colonel Smith, who commanded Fort Mifflin, col. Green, the commander of Red-bank, and commodore Haslewood of the fleet, were each presented with a sword, by order of Congress, for their gallant services.

General Washington, having been considerably reinforced, by a detachment from the army which had captured Burgoyne, advanced to Whitemarsh, within fourteen miles of Philadelphia, and encamped in a strong position. The royal army having reduced the forts on the Delaware, and being reinforced by four thousand men from New York, the British commander was desirous of bringing on a general engagement, or of forcing general Washington farther up the country; as possession of the city was of little advantage, while he was so hemmed in by the Americans. He marched almost all his whole force from Philadelphia, on the night of the 4th of December. Next morning he appeared on Chesnut-hill, about three miles in front of the right wing of the Americans. Here he manœuvred for some days, and examined every part of their encampment. But general Howe was always cautious of attacking the American lines; and judging the attempt too hazardous at present, he on the 9th of December, suddenly retreated to the city, where the British army spent the winter.

Soon after this, general Smallwood, with a considerable body of American troops, was posted at Wilmington, on the banks of the Delaware; and general Washington went into winter quarters, sixteen miles from Philadelphia, at Valley-forge, where the army erected huts for their accommodation. This position straitened the British, and covered a large extent of country, which would have been much exposed, had gen. Washington retired to the inland towns.

The American army had always been in want of many necessary articles, owing to the scarcity in the country, arising from the non-importation agreement before the war, and from the vigilance of the British cruisers in intercepting their trade.—This winter their sufferings were peculiarly great; they were destitute of shoes, stockings, blankets, and sometimes of provisions. The commissary and quarter master's departments were so badly organised, that no effective mode could be

pursued of obtaining even those supplies of which there was a plenty in the country. The paper money of Congress had depreciated considerably, which added to the public embarrassments. The army, however, endured their sufferings with fortitude and patience; and continued firm to the cause they had espoused.

While general Washington lay at Valley-forge, a cabal was entered into by some persons in and out of Congress, to deprive him of the command, and to place in his stead general Conway, an officer lately from France. The abettors of this base intrigue soon abandoned their project.—No man was ever more popular than general Washington; and every attempt to injure his character met with the execration of the public.

SECT. VI.—1777.

Campaign to the Northward—Burgoyne surrenders.

WE have observed, that when general Carleton, in 1776, had pursued the Americans as far as Ticonderoga, and viewed that fortress, he retired to winter quarters.—The British ministry resolved to pursue the war vigorously in that quarter, to open a communication between Canada and New York, and get possession of Hudson river, by which means they could obstruct the communication between the eastern and southern states.

The Americans, knowing their intention, and the fatal consequences that would follow, if they accomplished their object, were at great pains and expense to defend themselves in that quarter. Ticonderoga stands at the point where Lake George communicates with Lake Champlain, and commands the entrance into the former. This fort was strengthened with additional works. On the other side of the strait, a hill called Mount Independence was strongly fortified. These two posts were joined by a bridge of floating timber, secured by a large boom and chain. A neighbouring eminence, called Sugar Hill, was neglected by the

Americans, both on account of its being deemed inaccessible, and the incapacity of the garrison fully to man the works already erected.

The British ministry had great expectations from this campaign. The command was taken from gen. Carleton, and given to gen. Burgoyne. The forces, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to more than seven thousand men, exclusive of the artillery corps, the Canadians, and Indians. A brass train of artillery was furnished, probably the finest that had ever been destined to second the operations of an army. The troops were in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The main body proceeded up Lake Champlain, landed, and encamped at no great distance from Crown Point, on the 21st of June. Here general Burgoyne met the Indians, and in compliance with their custom, gave them a war feast. He made a speech to them, calculated to excite their ardour in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity.

General Burgoyne's troops proceeded with much expedition in bringing up the artillery, stores, and provisions; and with immense labour erected a fort on Sugar Hill; which commanded Ticonderoga. By the 5th of July they were ready to begin active operations; and in twenty-four hours would have completely invested the American lines.

The progress and intention of the British being evident, general St. Clair called a council of war, who, on considering the strength of the enemy, and the state of the garrison, resolved to evacuate the works. Such artillery and stores as the time would admit, were embarked for Skeneborough, and on the night of the 6th of July the troops marched for the same place. Some of the officers thoughtlessly set fire to the barracks, which discovered the retreat to the British; and general Frazer in the morning commenced a pursuit with his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. General Reidesel, with most of the Brunswickers, was ordered by general Burgoyne to join in the pursuit, either to support Frazer, or act separately. The latter continued the pursuit through

the day, and receiving intelligence that general St. Clair's rear was at no great distance, he ordered his troops to lie that night on their arms. In the morning, the two parties formed within about sixty yards of each other. Frazer began the attack. The conflict was bloody : Col. Warner, the commander of the Americans, his officers and soldiers, behaved with much resolution and gallantry ; so that the British broke and gave way. They however soon formed again, and running on the Americans with their bayonets, threw them into great confusion, which was increased by the critical arrival of general Reidesel. The Americans then fled on all sides. They lost three hundred and twenty-four men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. The royal troops, including British and Germans, had not less than one hundred and eighty-three killed and wounded.

Gen. Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water. The British frigates at the first attempt broke the chain and boom, and coming up with the American galleys and boats with the stores, the whole were either taken or destroyed.

Gen. St. Clair retreated to Fort Edward, where he joined general Schuyler. On the approach of Burgoyne, they retired to the neighbourhood of Albany.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga was a subject of loud and general complaint. The commanding officer was recalled, and a strict inquiry made into his conduct. But after a full investigation he was honourably acquitted.—Requisitions had been made for thirteen thousand six hundred men ; but at the time Burgoyne approached Ticonderoga, St. Clair's whole force did not amount to four thousand ; and many of these were badly armed. He hoped that the enemy would have at once assaulted his works ; and in that case he expected to have been able to repulse them. But when he was informed of the number of Burgoyne's army, and saw that a regular siege was intended, he was convinced that his force was entirely inadequate to the defence of the extensive lines and works of Ticonderoga ; and that no means remained of saving the army itself from being captured, but an immediate retreat.

The British were highly elated with their success. The obstructions to the navigation of the lakes, and the strong works of Ticonderoga, which cost the Americans the labour of many months, and where the British expected to meet a formidable resistance, were given up without a blow. They now considered the subjugation of the adjacent states as certain, and the design of the expedition to be nearly attained.

Gen. Burgoyne pursued the object of the campaign, but the difficulties in his way were unusually great. The country through which he directed his march was a wilderness, broken with creeks and marshes; and parties of Americans were busily employed in felling trees across the road. The royal army had roads to make, and bridges to erect. These obstacles were overcome by an invincible perseverance; and on the 30th of July, the army reached Fort Edward on Hudson river.

While the British were retarded in their advances by the natural and artificial obstructions in their way, the panic of the inhabitants began to abate. An invading army, with their Indian allies, roused them to action. The army which left Ticonderoga were collected, and became a centre of rendezvous to the militia. Gen. Gates was appointed to the chief command, and his army was speedily increased to thirteen thousand men.

At the same time that Burgoyne advanced by Lake Champlain, col. St. Leger, with a considerable body of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, crossed Lake Ontario, and laid siege to Fort Schuyler. A detachment of eight hundred militia, under general Herkimer, were sent for the relief of the fort. As they were advancing, they were surprised by the enemy, on the 6th of August, and totally defeated. The brave garrison, however, refused to capitulate. The siege lasted till the 22d of August, when general Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, marched to their relief. The besiegers then made a precipitate retreat, leaving great part of their artillery and baggage.

During the siege of Fort Schuyler, Burgoyne resolved upon a movement towards Albany. To facil-

itate this expedition, a plan was laid to obtain a supply of provisions from the plentiful farms of Vermont. The inhabitants of this county had been represented as only waiting for a protecting power to attach themselves to the royal army. Under this impression, he detached six hundred men, including one hundred Indians, with two field pieces, under colonel Baum, to seize upon a magazine at Bennington. But upon approaching that place, Baum found the militia much stronger than had been supposed. He therefore entrenched himself, and sent an express to Burgoyne with an account of his situation. Col. Breyman was dispatched to reinforce him. But before his arrival, col. Baum was attacked in his lines on the 10th of August, by general Starke, who commanded the militia. On this occasion, five hundred regular troops, behind entrenchments defended by two field pieces, were defeated by eight hundred militia, without bayonets or artillery.—Col. Breyman arrived the same day after the action was over; but instead of meeting his friends, was briskly attacked by col. Warner, who had just arrived, with a regiment of continental troops. After an obstinate resistance, Breyman was obliged to abandon his artillery and retreat. In these battles about seven hundred British prisoners were taken, with four brass cannon. The Americans lost about one hundred, in killed and wounded.

These gallant actions raised the spirits of the militia, and encreased their courage. They were the first advantages the Americans had gained in the northern department, since the death of gen. Montgomery. The royal army were mortified at this unexpected check. The plan of procuring provisions from the neighbourhood was frustrated, and general Burgoyne was obliged to halt till he procured supplies from the magazines in his rear. This detained him several weeks, and gave the Americans an opportunity of organizing and strengthening their army.

On the 13th of September, gen. Burgoyne, having brought forward provisions for thirty days, crossed Hudson river, and in four days arrived within two miles of gen. Gate's camp. The Americans thought no more of retreating, but advanced to meet him.

On the 19th, some scouting parties of Americans fell in with those of the British, about noon, and attacked them. Each commander reinforced his party, and ordered different regiments to engage. The battle was hot and obstinate on both sides, till about half past two o'clock, when it ceased for half an hour. The action was then renewed, and became general. Both armies appeared determined to conquer or die, and there was a continued blaze of fire for three hours, without intermission. The Americans and British alternately drove and were driven by each other.—Pieces of artillery were several times taken and retaken. A number of Americans placed themselves on high trees, from whence they did great execution. Night put an end to the action. But the advantages were evidently in favour of the Americans: not only as it increased their confidence, and depressed their enemy, but as, after this battle, the Canadians and Indians deserted the British army. The royal troops lost about five hundred, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Americans, three hundred and nineteen.

From this time, skirmishes continually took place. General Burgoyne's situation became extremely critical. He expected a co operation from New York, but of this he received no intelligence; his provisions were daily lessening, and the army was put on short allowance; his antagonists were fully supplied, and daily becoming more numerous.

On the 7th of October, Burgoyne, being nearly surrounded by the Americans, attempted to make a movement, with the flower of his army, to discover whether he could force a passage either for advancing or retreating: but he was suddenly checked, by an impetuous attack. A bloody action ensued. Burgoyne's left wing retreated to their camp. The Americans followed, and attempted to storm their lines, but found it impossible. General Arnold then pushed forward to that part of the lines which was defended by the Germans: he rushed on with fixed bayonets, and carried the works. In the assault Arnold was wounded. The engagement lasted till night. In this battle the British lost a number of brave men, and able officers. About

two hundred prisoners, nine pieces of brass artillery, with the equipage and encampment of a German brigade, fell into the hands of the Americans.

Gen. Gates had now a manifest advantage over Burgoyne. The British were in a most distressed situation: they were continually obliged to lay on their arms; and after several attempts, found it impossible either to advance or retreat.

On the 13th of October, general Burgoyne, finding the troops had only three days provisions in store, on short allowance, called a council of all the generals, field officers, and captains commanding corps. There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp for holding the council of war, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shot; and while the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound ball crossed the table. By the unanimous advice of the council, Burgoyne was induced to open a treaty with general Gates. The first proposals of the latter were rejected, wherein it was required, that the British should lay down their arms in their entrenchments. Burgoyne's counter-proposals were agreed to, on the 17th, without any material alteration. The British troops were to march out with the honours of war, and deliver up their arms, artillery, and camp equipage; they were to be allowed to return to Europe, on condition of not serving in America during the war; and all the followers of the camp were to be comprehended in the capitulation.

The return signed by general Burgoyne, at the time of the convention, made by the British army, including Germans, amounted to five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one; which was very far short of the number they had on setting out from Canada. The train of brass artillery consisted of forty-two pieces; there was also four thousand six hundred and forty-seven muskets, six thousand dozen of cartridges, besides shot, carcasses, shells, &c.

General Burgoyne expected that a strong force would have been sent from New York, to co-operate with him.—He found means to acquaint gen. Clinton with his situation. In the beginning of October, Clinton, with three thousand men, sailed from New York.

up the North river, in order to make an attempt to relieve Burgoyne; and his approach was one reason of the favourable terms granted to that general. He attacked forts Clinton and Montgomery, on the 6th, and carried them, after a gallant resistance. There was no other obstruction between him and Albany; but instead of proceeding to the assistance of general Burgoyne, he sent out parties to ravage the country. The fine village of Esopus was at this time entirely demolished.—This was one of the many instances, during the war, in which the British acted contrary to their own interest.

On hearing of Burgoyne's surrender, Clinton immediately retired to New York.

While the British were advancing towards Albany, an enterprize was undertaken by the Americans, for the recovery of the posts in the rear of the royal army. A party of one thousand men were detached on this business, on the 16th of September. They surprised all the out-posts, as far as Ticonderoga; captured a number of prisoners, and a quantity of stores; and released a number of Americans.—After the surrender of Burgoyne, the British at Ticonderoga retreated to Canada.

Great was the joy of the Americans on the capture of Burgoyne.—It was the second remarkable deliverance they had experienced during the war. The defection of the British was proportionate to their former hopes of success and conquest.

From an apprehension that the British intended to evade the treaty made with general Burgoyne, and employ his army immediately in America, Congress would not permit the prisoners to embark, unless his Britannic majesty would ratify the treaty. As this was not done, the troops were marched to the western parts of Virginia.

The Americans now became formidable enemies to Britain, by sea as well as on land. Numbers of privateers had been fitted out, who made numerous and valuable captures of British vessels; not only in the American seas, but even on the coasts of Europe.

SECT. VII.—1778.

Alliance with France—Commissioners from Britain arrive at Philadelphia—Philadelphia evacuated—French fleet sent to America—Battle on Rhode Island.

INTELLIGENCE of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached France in December, 1777. The deputies of Congress, at that court, Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, seized the opportunity to press forward a treaty, which had been under consideration for some months. It was a favourite object with France, as well as with other nations of Europe, to have the colonies separated from Britain. Encouragement and supplies had secretly been afforded them. The court of Versailles now determined openly to espouse their cause.

On the 6th of February, 1778, treaties of alliance and commerce were concluded between France and the United States.

A few days after these treaties were signed, the British ministry were privately informed of the event. In consequence of this information, as well as the capture of Burgoyne, lord North, in February, brought into the House of Commons, a plan of conciliation, on nearly the same terms which had been asked by the Americans at the beginning of the contest. The speech, by which he introduced his plan, was long, and kept him up two hours. A dull melancholy silence succeeded. It was heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation. It was conjectured, that some powerful motive had induced the ministry to adopt such an alteration of measures. The idea was confirmed by the positive assertion of Mr. Fox, that a treaty had been signed at Paris, between the colonies and France, by which she recognized their independence.

On the 13th of March, the French ambassador delivered a rescript to lord Weymouth, in which he informed the court of London, that his master had signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United

States of America. This transaction was communicated under the pretence of cultivating a good understanding between France and Great Britain; but the British court held it to be an aggression, and considered it as a declaration of war. Both nations prepared for hostilities.

Two bills, for the purpose of conciliation, were brought into parliament, and passed with unusual precipitation. While they were depending, copies of them were transmitted to lord and general Howe, and by them forwarded, in April, to Congress, at York-town. They were immediately taken into consideration; and unanimously rejected. Congress farther resolved, that they would not hold any conference with commissioners from Britain, unless, as a preliminary, they should withdraw their fleets and armies, or acknowledge the independence of the United States. At this time they were ignorant of the treaty with France; nor had they received any intelligence from their commissioners at Paris for more than a year.—This decision sets their fortitude and perseverance in a very striking point of view — The people were equally firm. The bills were industriously circulated by the enemy; and also published by order of Congress, with their proceedings and resolutions in reference to them. The general voice was against reconciliation, or making peace on any terms short of independence.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Silas Deane arrived at York-town from France. Congress was immediately convened, and his despatches read; among which, to their inexpressible joy, were the treaty of commerce and the treaty of alliance, concluded between his most Christian Majesty and the commissioners of the United States. The treaties were considered the next day, and unanimously ratified.

Congress afterwards agreed to a draught of “An address to the inhabitants of the United States of America.” In this publication, when they come to the French treaty, they say, “You have still to expect one severe conflict. Your foreign alliances, though they secure your independence, cannot secure your country.

from desolation, your habitations from plunder, your wives from insult or violation, or your children from butchery. Foiled in the principal design, you must expect to feel the rage of disappointed ambition. Arise, then ! to your tents, and gird you for battle ! It is time to turn the headlong current of vengeance upon the head of the destroyer. They have filled up the measure of their machinations, and, like ripe fruit, must soon drop from the tree. Altho' much is done, much yet remains to do. Expect not peace, while one corner of America is in the possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey."

About the beginning of June the royal commissioners, with the conciliatory acts, arrived at Philadelphia. They attempted to open a negociation; but as neither of the preliminaries of withdrawing the army, or acknowledging the independence of the United States, were complied with, Congress ordered them to be informed, that on no other terms would they consent to treat with them. The commissioners made further applications for a hearing; but no answer was ever returned.

Governor Johnstone, in addition to his exertions as a commissioner, endeavoured to promote the accomplishment of the object on which he had been sent, by opening a correspondence with individuals, particularly with Henry Lawrens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. But he was equally unsuccessful. The letters being communicated to Congress, it was resolved, "That the same cannot but be considered, as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity; and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress, to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, esquire."

The commissioners, on this repulse, directed their future publications, in the manner of appeals, to the people at large. Their proposals were not more favourably received by the people, than they had been by Congress. In no one place, not occupied by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even

to deliberate on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

Thus ended an unsuccessful negociation, which originated in ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. For the British ministry always effected to believe, that but a small party of the people in America were opposed to them. Their concessions on this occasion, were greater than what the Americans would have accepted at the beginning of the contest; and was an implied justification of their resistance to the claims of Britain.

During the spring of 1778, no remarkable events occurred in the military line. Excursions were sometimes made for the purpose of foraging, or for destroying stores.

On the 2th of May, some British light infantry, in flat boats, attended by armed vessels, proceeded up the Delaware. They advanced to Bordentown, defeated the Americans that opposed them, entered the town, and burnt four store houses, containing provisions, tobacco, some military stores, and camp equipage. The country being alarmed, and a strong body collected, the troops crossed to the Pennsylvania shore. The next day they resumed their operations, and at sunset embarked and returned to Philadelphia. While upon the expedition, they burnt two frigates, nine large ships, three privateer sloops, and several other vessels.

Another marauding expedition, about the same time, was made by the British from Newport. They landed in Connecticut, destroyed a number of boats, burnt thirty houses, two churches, and plundered the inhabitants.

In June, General Howe sailed for England, and was succeeded in the command by Sir Henry Clinton.

On the 18th of June, the British evacuated Philadelphia. They crossed the Delaware into New Jersey. The commissioners, though unknown to themselves, had brought instructions for this purpose. The ministry were urged to this measure by an apprehension that a French fleet would be sent to America, and block up the Delaware.

When intelligence of the evacuation had reached head quarters, general Washington put his army in motion, and proceeded towards Princeton. As the British had taken the route to Sandy Hook, by Monmouth court-house, he ordered a strong detachment to move forward, and if practicable, attack the enemy's rear. Gen. Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, sent forward his baggage, and ordered part of his army to face about, in order to check their progress.

On the 28th of June, general Lee, who had lately been exchanged, was sent forward to take the command of the advanced corps, with orders to attack the enemy. General Washington marched with the whole army to support him; but was soon surprised to find general Lee retreating, and the enemy in pursuit. He immediately gave orders for forming part of the troops, and advanced some pieces of artillery. A warm engagement, between the detached corps of both armies ensued. General Washington was making arrangements for attacking the enemy with his whole force: but before he was prepared, night came on. The troops lay on their arms, with an intention to recommence the action early next morning. In the meantime, the enemy were employed in removing their wounded; and about midnight marched away in such silence, that the Americans, though very near them, knew nothing of their departure. The loss of the royal army, in the engagement, was about three hundred and fifty. The American loss amounted to two hundred and fifty.—The British pursued their route to Sandy Hook, without farther interruption; and embarked for New York. General Washington marched to the White Plains.—So that, after two years manœuvring, and experiencing strange vicissitudes, the main armies were brought back to the very point from which they set out.—“The hand of Providence,” says general Washington, “is conspicuous in all this.”

During the march of the British through the Jerseys, upwards of eight hundred of their troops deserted, most of whom were Hessians.

For misconduct at the battle of Monmouth, gen. Lee

was suspended from his command for a year.—He never afterwards joined the army.

Shortly after the departure of the British, Congress returned to Philadelphia. On the 6th of August, Monsieur Gerard, who had lately arrived, was introduced to a public audience, as minister plenipotentiary from the king of France. This was a scene highly pleasing to the patriots of America; they saw the United States risen to a rank and consequence among the nations, and their independence guaranteed by one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe.

About two months after the treaty between France and America had been signed, a strong squadron, under Count d'Estaing, sailed from Toulon, in order to block up the British in Philadelphia. This fleet had a passage of eighty-seven days, and anchored on the 8th of July at the entrance of the Delaware. The next morning, on being informed of the departure of the British, they sailed towards Sandy Hook, and on the 11th anchored within it.—Had not bad weather and other impediments prevented, the Count must have surprised the British fleet in the Delaware. The destruction of both fleet and army would probably have been the consequence. Lord Howe's fleet consisted of six sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Count d'Estaing had twelve ships of the line, some of which were of great force and weight.

On the 22d of July, the count sailed from Sandy Hook. Had he staid a few days longer, admiral Byron's fleet, from Britain, must have fallen a defenceless prey into his hands. The squadron had met with unusual bad weather, and being separated in different storms, arrived singly, and in distress, upon the American coast.

Count d'Estaing being disappointed in surprising the British in the Delaware; and finding it impossible to carry his ships over the bar to attack them in New York, he proceeded, by advice of general Washington, to Rhode Island, in order to co-operate with an Ameri-

can army, under gen. Sullivan, for the reduction of that post. The militia flocked in such numbers to assist their new allies, that ten thousand men were speedily collected on the island. The day after count d'Estaing entered the harbour of Newport, lord Howe appeared off the island with his fleet, which was now more numerous than the French, but inferior in weight of metal. Count d'Estaing immediately put to sea; and while the commanders were preparing for an engagement, a violent storm came on, which damaged both fleets so much, as to oblige them to return to port to refit. The British sailed for New York, and the French to Boston.

The American troops on Rhode Island being abandoned by the fleet, resolved to evacuate the place. For this purpose they withdrew from before the lines at Newport, to the north end of the island. The British followed, and an engagement took place, in which each army lost between two and three hundred men. On the 30th of August, the evacuation was completed without farther loss.

Count d'Estaing having fitted his fleet, sailed for the West Indies.

The Americans were highly elated, on the arrival of the French, and hoped some decisive blow would have been struck. But they were disappointed in every instance. However the good will of their new allies was strongly manifested, and the plans of the enemy for the rest of the campaign were deranged.

In September, the British undertook two marauding expeditions; one to New Bedford, and the other to little Egg Harbour. In both places, they burnt and destroyed houses, stores, and vessels to a great amount.—About this time, colonel Baylor's regiment of light dragoons were surprised at Old Tappan, by a party of the British, under general Grey, and nearly all massacred, even while calling for quarter.—These cruel proceedings caused a general indignation throughout the United States.

In this year a system of military discipline was drawn up by baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, who

had joined the American army. It was approved by the commander in chief; and introduced into practice.

SECT. VIII.—1778, 1779.

Campaign in Georgia and South Carolina—Operations to the Northward.

THE military operations of the British in the middle and northern states, had been productive of nothing advantageous. After four campaigns, in which they had carried terror and devastation through six states, their conquests were only the city of New York, and places adjoining, and Rhode Island.

The southern states now became the principal seat of the war. Being thinly inhabited, and having great numbers of slaves, it was presumed they would be an easy conquest. They abounded in provisions, and produced the most valuable articles of commerce for the British market.—A plan of operation was concerted with general Prevost, in East Florida; and it was intended that Georgia should be invaded both on the north and south at the same time.

On the 27th of November, 1778, col. Campbell, with two thousand five hundred men, embarked at New York, under convoy of some ships of war, and on the 23d of December, landed near Savannah.—General Howe, the American officer to whom was committed the defence of Georgia, had under his command about six hundred regular troops, and two hundred and twenty militia. He posted his little army advantageously on the main road to Savannah. Col. Campbell, however, was informed of a private path through the swamp on the right of the Americans. He immediately sent a party to gain their rear. The Americans, by this manœuvre, being nearly surrounded, endeavoured to save themselves by flight: The British pursued, and gained a complete victory. The capital of Georgia, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of

provisions, the fort, with its artillery and stores, were all, in a few hours, in possession of the conquerors.—The Americans had upwards of one hundred killed, and four hundred and fifty taken prisoners. The remains of the army took shelter in South Carolina.

After the reduction of Savannah, most part of Georgia submitted to the British. It was the only state in the union, in which, after the declaration of independence, a legislature was convened under the authority of the king of Great Britain.

Agreeably to instructions, general Prevost marched with his troops from East Florida to Savannah, and took the command of the army. The force now in Georgia excited alarming apprehensions through the adjacent states, which were in a very defenceless situation, both with respect to troops, and military stores. In September, 1778, general Lincoln, was appointed to take the command of the southern army. In the beginning of January, 1779, he established his headquarters at Purrysburgh: his whole force consisted of about three thousand six hundred men, most of whom were militia.

The British commander, desirous of establishing a post in South Carolina, detached major Gardiner, with two hundred men, to take possession of Port-Royal Island; but soon after his landing, general Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of men, nine of whom only were regular soldiers, compelled him to retreat.

After this unsuccessful expedition, the British did not attempt any thing to the northward of Savannah for some time; but extended themselves over Georgia; and endeavoured to procure reinforcements from the tories, or friends to the royal cause, in the western settlements. Several hundreds of these people embodied, and marched to join the royal army; but they were attacked, and totally defeated by a party of militia under col. Pickens.

In order to check the enemy, and oblige them to quit the upper parts of Georgia, general Lincoln formed a plan for marching into that state. In the execution of this design, general Ash crossed the river Savannah, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and a few

regular troops, and took a strong position on Briar-creek. Here he was surprised, in open day, March 3d, by lieutenant colonel Prevost, who attacked his rear, with about nine hundred men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. Col. Elbert, with about one hundred continental soldiers, engaged the enemy: and expecting to be supported by the militia, made a brave but ineffectual attack, in which great part of his men fell. Most of the militia that escaped went home.

This unfortunate event deprived gen. Lincoln of a considerable part of his army, and endangered South Carolina. At this crisis John Rutledge was called to the chair of government, and invested, in conjunction with his council, with dictatorial powers. A regiment of cavalry was raised, and a large body of militia were stationed near the centre of the state, to be in readiness to march whithersoever the public service required.

Towards the end of April, general Lincoln, with the main army, crossed into Georgia, leaving two divisions on the north side of the river. Gen. Prevost took advantage of his absence, and marched into Carolina, with about two thousand four hundred men, exclusive of a considerable body of Indians. Before this superior force, general Moultrie, to whom the defence of South Carolina was intrusted, was obliged to retreat; which he did with great judgment, keeping between the enemy and Charleston. Lincoln, on being informed of this movement, detached three hundred of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, and proceeded himself, with the main army, towards the capital of Georgia; presuming that general Prevost intended nothing more than to divert him, by a feint on Carolina. When he found that Prevost was really marching for Charleston, he immediately crossed the Savannah and followed him.

The British met with but little opposition. Gen. Moultrie, instead of being reinforced by the inhabitants, as he advanced, was abandoned by numbers of the militia. Many of the inhabitants were panic struck, and applied for British protections. The loyalists, in order to ingratiate themselves with their protectors,

represented the inhabitants as generally tired of the war; and assured general Prevost, that Charleston would surrender at his first appearance. With the unanimous concurrence of a council of field officers, therefore, he pushed directly for that city. The Carolinians prepared to defend their capital; the militia of the neighbourhood was called into the city, and lines were thrown up and mounted with cannon.

On the 11th of May the British appeared before Charleston. Commissioners from the town proposed, that in case the royal army should withdraw, South Carolina would remain neuter during the war. But the British commander insisted that they should surrender prisoners of war. The negociation was then broken off; and the garrison expected an immediate assault. General Prevost, however, was not prepared for a measure of this kind; and receiving intelligence of the approach of Lincoln, he drew off his whole force, and encamped on the islands near the harbour.

General Lincoln encamped on the main land near the islands; and both armies lay quiet till the 20th of June, when twelve hundred Americans made an attack on a British party of seven or eight hundred men, posted at Stono-ferry. At the commencement of the attack, the assailants had an evident advantage; but the appearance of a reinforcement rendered a retreat necessary. Each party lost about one hundred and fifty men. Immediately after this affair, general Prevost retired with his main army to Savannah; and general Lincoln, having dismissed the militia, took post with his regular troops at Sheldon. Both armies remained in their encampments during the hot season. The arrival of a French fleet in September, roused them to action.

In this excursion to South Carolina, the British army plundered the inhabitants to a vast amount; they not only seized plate, money, rings, and other valuable articles, but destroyed much property. Upwards of three thousand negroes were carried out of the state. Such rapacity exceedingly distressed the inhabitants, many of whom were deprived of their moveable effects of every kind, and thereby reduced to great want.

On the 1st of September, 1779, count d'Estaing arrived on the coast of South Carolina, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. The appearance of the French fleet was so unexpected by the British, than the *Experiment* man of war, of fifty guns, and three frigates, were captured. No sooner was it known that the count was on the coast, than Lincoln marched for Savannah, with the troops under his command, and orders were also given, for the South Carolina and Georgia militia to rendezvous immediately near the same place.—The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence.

The French and Americans, after having spent some time in making regular approaches, at last determined to take Savannah by storm. Accordingly, the morning of the 9th of October was fixed for the attack, and neither the French nor Americans had the least doubt of success.

Two feints were made with the militia, and a real attack, a little before day-light on the Spring-hill battery, with three thousand five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the Charleston militia, headed by count d'Estaing and general Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldness; but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys, threw the front of the column into confusion. Two standards, however, were placed upon the redoubts. Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred horsemen, was in full gallop, riding into town between the redoubts, with an intent of charging in the rear, when he received a mortal wound. A general retreat of the assailants took place, after they had stood the enemy's fire for forty-five minutes. D'Estaing received two slight wounds; six hundred and thirty-seven of his troops, and two hundred and thirty-four of the continentals, were killed or wounded. General Prevost and major Moncrief, acquired great reputation by their successful defence. There were not ten guns mounted on the lines when the Americans first appeared, and in a few days the number exceeded eighty. The garri-

son was between two and three thousand. The damage sustained by them was trifling. The siege being raised, the Americans returned into South Carolina, and count d'Estaing left the continent.

The inhabitants of the southern states were sanguine that the invaders would have been captured or driven from the country by the combined army. Their disappointment was attended with a proportionate depression of spirits.

During the siege of Savannah, a gallant exploit was performed by colonel White. A British post, on the Ogechee, of one hundred men, with five vessels, four of which were armed, fell into the hands of a small party under his direction. By a variety of stratagems, he impressed the British with an idea that a large party was at hand, and that nothing but an immediate surrender could prevent them from being cut to pieces. They surrendered without any resistance.

In the northern parts of the union, during this campaign, nothing but desultory and predatory operations were carried on by the British.

In the month of May, General Clinton dispatched Sir George Collier and general Matthews, with about two thousand men, besides five hundred marines, to make a descent upon Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth, and upon their arrival took immediate possession of the town, which was defenceless. The remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands.

During the fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coast, the loss of the Americans was immense. About one hundred and thirty vessels of all sorts, including some privateers, and ships of force, were destroyed or taken. Except the dwelling of a widow, and the church, they burnt every house in Suffolk: and all the principal seats of gentlemen in their route shared the same fate.

In July, a detachment of two thousand and six hundred men, under governor Tryon, made a desultory invasion on the defenceless parts of Connecticut. They burnt the towns of Norwalk and Fairfield; destroyed

vessels, stores, and merchandize, to a vast amount; and committed many acts of cruelty and rapine.—In this predatory mode of warfare, the British had great advantage, by their marine force, which gave them access to the numerous harbours and extensive coast of the United States.

These desolating expeditions were threatened by the royal commissioners, when the terms of reconciliation were rejected. In a manifesto published by them, they said, "That as Congress had renounced their allegiance to Britain, and thrown themselves into the arms of France, policy would direct that the connection should be rendered as useless as possible." However distressing these operations were to particular places, they were of small consequence to the strength or welfare of the confederacy at large; they were of no real service to Britain; and alienated the minds of the Americans still farther from that country.—Congress threatened to retaliate, by burning the towns of the British in Europe or the West Indies; but they never carried their threats into execution.

In the early part of the year, the Americans were employed in constructing strong forts on the North or Hudson river, at Stoney and Verplank's Points. The command of this river was of great importance to both armies. Sir Henry Clinton, before the works were finished, sent a number of troops, who captured or drove off the Americans, took possession of the works, and put them in a strong state of defence.

General Wayne, at the head of a large detachment of infantry, gallantly attacked and re-captured Stoney Point, on the 15th of July. The assault was made in two columns, and the fort taken by storm at midnight. The troops forced their way at the point of the bayonet, amidst a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot. Both columns arrived at the centre of the enemy's works at the same time. General Wayne was wounded in the head, as he passed the last abbatis, but requested to be carried forward, that if he died, it might be in the fort. The Americans lost, in killed and wounded, seventy-eight. The British had sixty-

three killed, and five hundred and forty-three taken prisoners.—The conquering troops, though they might have retaliated for the many cruelties recently committed by the British, yet scorned to take the lives of men calling for mercy, and ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries had ceased to resist.—The cannon and stores were removed from the fort, and its works demolished. It was then evacuated; and on the third day after, again taken possession of by the British.

Another gallant exploit was performed about this time, by major Lee, with about three hundred and fifty men. They surprized the British garrison at Paules Hook, opposite New York, took one hundred and sixty prisoners, and killed thirty; while their own loss did not exceed six men. Having executed this service, they immediately retired.

The fortune of war is various. A party of the British forces from Hallifax, had built a fort on Penobscot river. This excited an alarm at Boston; and a plan was laid by the state of Massachusetts to dislodge them. A considerable fleet was fitted out, on board of which a body of troops embarked. This fleet arrived at Penobscot, in July. But the plan failed, on account of the dilatory operations of the Americans. As they were preparing to assault the fort, a superior British fleet appeared. The whole marine force fell into their hands, almost without resistance. The troops had to return to Boston by land, making their way through the wilderness.

The king of Spain, after his offer of mediating a peace was rejected by Britain, joined his army with France, though he did not formally acknowledge the independence of the United States.

Since the commencement of hostilities, the Indians had made frequent depredations on the frontier settlements. They were stimulated to this conduct, by the arts and presents of British agents residing among them. Horrid cruelties were committed on women and children, various settlements had been broken up, and much property destroyed.—Incursions were made into their country, by parties from the United States, who burnt

their houses and destroyed their grain.—A particular detail of the devastation and cruelties committed, and retaliated, would be grating to the feelings of humanity.

In 1779, general Sullivan, with a considerable body of troops, was dispatched into the country inhabited by the Six Nations, which stretches along the frontier of New York and Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the contest, these tribes had entered into an engagement with Congress, to observe a strict neutrality; but by the influence of the British, and the American refugees among them, they were led to depart from a pacific line of conduct, and to become principal actors in the ravages that were committed on the frontiers, particularly in spreading destruction throughout the flourishing settlement of Wyoming, in 1778.

The Indians opposed the American troops with unusual firmness. They collected their force; and being joined by a number of the adherents to Britain, fortified themselves in a good position.—General Sullivan attacked them in their works, on the 29th of August. After an engagement of two hours, they fled with precipitation. No farther resistance was made. The army marched into their country, burned their towns, cut down their orchards, destroyed their corn-fields and gardens, and for several weeks, spread desolation in every direction.

This expedition was the most decisive ever undertaken against the Indians, and affected them in the most sensible manner. The ardour of their warriors was damped; and the frontier settlements were restored to a considerable degree of tranquillity.

In October, 1779, the British evacuated Rhode Island.

SECT. IX.—1780.

The war in the Southern States—Operations to the Northward—Arnold's Plot.

FROM the time that the British evacuated Philadelphia, the war in the northern states had been sus-

pendent by them, as to active operations. To the southward, after two campaigns, they possessed only the capital of Georgia. The appearance of a French fleet on the coast had twice disconcerted their plans, kept them in alarm for the safety of their own posts, and prevented them from attempting farther conquests.

In the close of 1779, when the departure of d'Estaing from the continent was confirmed, Sir Henry Clinton determined on offensive operations to the southward. He committed the command in New York to general Knyphausen, and embarked with a body of seven thousand men, well supplied for an active campaign. He was accompanied by admiral Arbuthnot, with a considerable fleet. After a tedious passage, in which were lost several transports, they arrived at Georgia; and in February, the troops were landed about thirty miles from Charleston; which was the first place they meant to attack.

When Clinton sailed from New York, it was apprehended that he was bound for Charleston. Orders were given to fortify the city; the militia were called out; and the forts in the harbour were manned. It was determined to make a vigorous defence. The call for the militia, however, was obeyed by few, for the people were much dispirited by the repulse at Savannah.

General Lincoln had taken great pains to render the city capable of sustaining a siege. Lines, redoubts, and other works were thrown up between Ashley and Cooper rivers. It was expected, that commodore Whipple's squadron would have been able to prevent the British fleet from crossing the bar,—but this they did not attempt. On the 12th of March, admiral Arbuthnot crossed, and the American fleet retreated to the harbour of Charleston.

Sir Henry Clinton discovered great caution in conducting the siege. On the 1st of April he broke ground before the city, and on the 10th, he finished his first parallel. He then summoned the town to surrender. General Lincoln replied, that he would defend the city to the last extremity. The British batteries began to play on the 12th, and soon acquired a superiority over

those of the garrison. On the 8th of May, general Clinton, having finished his third parallel, again summoned the town to surrender, and offered terms of capitulation. These terms were refused; and both parties began a furious cannonade. Gen. Lincoln made the most vigorous defence he was capable of, and held out till the 11th of May. His works were then much damaged, great part of his cannon dismounted, his provisions nearly expended, and the citizens clamorous for a surrender; a party that had been stationed at Monk's Corner, in order to keep open the communication with the country, was entirely routed by col. Tarleton. The British were ready to storm the lines: their force consisted of nine thousand men, while there were not three thousand to oppose them. Gen. Lincoln then offered to accept the terms he formerly refused. Sir Henry consented, and the treaty was signed.

It was stipulated, that the regular troops and sailors should remain prisoners of war until exchanged. The militia were to return home as prisoners on parole, which, as long as they observed it, was to secure their property. The garrison was to march out of the city, and to deposit their arms. The drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. All civil officers and citizens were to be prisoners on parole. The number of persons that thus became prisoners amounted to five thousand, though two thousand and five hundred was the whole of the garrison:—Upwards of four hundred pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the conquerors; with all the shipping in the harbour. The killed and wounded was comparatively small, and nearly equal, not exceeding eighty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded on each side.

The capital having surrendered, the next object of the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. With this view they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched a large body of troops over the Santee, towards the extremity of the state, which borders on the populous parts of North Carolina. This occasioned the retreat of some American parties, who were advancing to relieve

Charleston. Among the corps which had come forward with that view, there was one consisting of about three hundred men, commanded by col. Buford. Tarleton, with about seven hundred horse and foot, was sent in quest of this party. He came up with them at the Waxhaws, defeated, and put most of them to the sword.

After the surrender of Charleston, Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, and lord Cornwallis succeeded to the command. As there was no military opposition, he was busily employed in settling the civil and commercial affairs of South Carolina. The inhabitants were required to take an active part in supporting his majesty's government. He ordered that all who were prisoners on parole, should be restored to the rights of subjects; and that those who neglected to return to their allegiance, should be treated as rebels.—In compliance with these orders, a great number of the inhabitants submitted as British subjects.

In the mean time, measures were taken by Congress to assemble another army in the southern states; and general Gates was appointed to the command. The Delaware and Maryland troops were ordered to Carolina; and the militia to be in readiness.—But before this army arrived, a number of the inhabitants associated together under colonel Sumpter. In July, they gallantly took the field, attacked parties of the British and of the inhabitants who had taken up arms in their cause, and generally defeated them. Colonels Williams and Marian, in different parts of the state, were equally successful.

In August, the forces from the northward arrived in South Carolina. Many of the inhabitants, disgusted by the proceedings of the British, joined them.—Lord Rawdon, to whom Cornwallis had intrusted the command of the frontiers, drew in his out-posts, and rendezvoused at Camden. Gen. Gates fixed his head quarters at Clermont, on the 13th of August, within thirteen miles of the British.

Lord Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden: his force consisted of about two thousand veteran troops. The American army were near four thousand

strong, most of whom were militia. Notwithstanding his inferiority, Cornwallis boldly determined to stake his fortune, in a contest with the conqueror of Burgoyne.

On the night of the 15th of August, he marched with his whole force to attack the American encampment. At the same time general Gates put his army in motion, in order to take a position nearer Camden. The advanced parties met, and engaged in the night. Both armies halted. As soon as day appeared, a general engagement commenced. At the first onset, the greater part of the militia threw down their arms and retreated. The continental troops, though inferior in number to the British, bravely stood their ground, till, being nearly surrounded, they were obliged to yield. When general Gates saw the militia break and run with such precipitation, he lost every hope of victory; and his only care was, if possible, to rally a sufficient number to cover the retreat of the other troops. He returned with general Caswell to Clermont, in hopes of halting them in their late encampment; but the further they fled, the more they dispersed, and the generals, giving up all as lost, retired with a few attendants to Charlotte, eighty miles from the field of battle.

The remains of the American army collected at this place; and then made a further retreat to Hillsborough in North Carolina. A minute representation of this retreat would be the image of complicated wretchedness.—Pain, humiliation, and poverty marked the scene.

The Americans lost all their artillery, their ammunition waggon, and the greatest part of their baggage. The numbers slain, cannot be precisely ascertained; but the loss has been estimated at seven hundred men. Among these was the baron de Kalb. He commanded the regular troops, who fought bravely; and he received eleven wounds. Lord Cornwallis obtained a complete victory, yet it was dearly bought; upwards of four hundred of his men being killed or wounded. He was restrained from pursuing his advantage, by the loss he had sustained, by the heat of the season, the sickness of his troops, and by the want of necessary supplies. He therefore remained inactive.

In addition to the disaster at Camden, the Americans suffered a great loss two days after, in the defeat of colonel Sumpter, who was surprised by colonel Tarleton, and his whole party killed, taken, or dispersed.

Twice in the course of this year, the Americans lost their main army in South Carolina. A dismal gloom overspread the face of affairs in that quarter. The whole country was in the power of the British; and they proceeded with much severity. Orders were issued by lord Cornwallis that those who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards revolted, should be imprisoned, and have their property confiscated; and that every person that had been enrolled in the royal militia, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death. Many suffered by these orders, both in property and life. It was afterwards ordered that the estates of all the active friends to independence should be sequestered. Numbers of inhabitants, who refused to comply with the mandates of Cornwallis, were sent into exile, or put on board of prison ships.—These harsh measures produced effects contrary to what was intended: many risked their all rather than become British subjects, especially when required to take up arms against their country.

For several months after the defeat of gen. Gates, there was no regular army to oppose the British, yet opposition was never wholly extinguished.—On the very day that colonel Sumpter was defeated by col. Tarleton; col Williams, with a party of militia, defeated a detachment of the British on the Enorce river. Sumpter collected another band of volunteers, and took the field. Marian, Lee, and others, at the head of parties of militia, kept up a desultory war, which was exceedingly harassing to the British. They beat up their quarters, captured their convoys, harassed the army in its march, and attacked and carried their out-posts.

A brilliant achievement of these small parties occurred in October, at King's mountain, on the borders of North Carolina: major Ferguson, a distinguished

British partisan, was stationed at this place, in order to encourage the friends of Britain to shew themselves, and to overawe any party that might appear in favour of America. Without a preconcerted plan, col. Boone, Cleveland, Campbell, Sevier, Williams, and others, rendezvoused together, all having in view the destruction of Ferguson. With sixteen hundred of their best men, well mounted, they attacked him on three sides, at once. Ferguson boldly charged these divisions as they advanced, and compelled them to retire. They fell back a little way, and again returned to the charge. After a severe conflict, major Ferguson was killed. His party then surrendered. About eight hundred were made prisoners, and two hundred and fifty killed or wounded.—This was an unexpected advantage. It gave new life to the Americans, and was a great loss to the royal cause.—Lord Cornwallis was advancing from Camden, and had penetrated into North Carolina, when he heard of major Ferguson's defeat. This circumstance, together with the opposition he met with from small parties of militia, who were continually harassing his army, induced him to retreat to Winnsborough.

In the mean time, general Gates was busily employed in preparing to take the field. He had advanced as far as Charlotte, and was again in a condition to face the enemy. But Congress thought proper to supersede him in his command, and sent gen. Greene to take charge of the southern army.

The campaign of 1780, in the northern states, produced little worthy of notice. Desultory operations were carried on from New York. It was a war of plunder, in which the American loyalists who joined the British had an active hand. They had a small fleet of privateers, and were organised in a separate body, called the honourable Board of Associated Loyalists. Stimulated by revenge and avarice, they readily laid hold on every occasion to gratify these passions;—and their knowledge of the country enabled them to make incursions to the great loss of individuals and of particular districts.

In June, a body of five thousand men, under Knyp-
hausen, landed in New Jersey. In this incursion, a
soldier deliberately shot Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of a
clergyman who was active in the American cause,
through the window of her apartment, where she was
sitting with her children and her maid. They then
burned the house, and twelve others in the neighbour-
hood, and the Presbyterian church. As they advanced,
the Jersey militia turned out to oppose them. Some
skirmishing ensued, when the British retired to Eliza-
beth-town. In the mean time, Clinton, with his vic-
torious troops, arrived from Charleston. He sent a
reinforcement to Knyphausen; and the British army
again advanced into the country. General Washing-
ton, with his whole army, moved to oppose them.
General Greene, with the advance of the army, took
post in their front, and an action took place which last-
ed about forty minutes, when the Americans were
forced to retreat.—The British then burned the town
of Springfield, and returned to New York.

The marquis Fayette, who arrived from France, in
May, brought the agreeable information, that in the
course of the campaign, the king of France would send
a powerful armament to America. To be in readiness
for this event, and that decisive operations might be
undertaken, it was determined to augment the army to
thirty-five thousand men.

The expected succours arrived from France on the
evening of the 10th of July, at Rhode Island. The
chevalier de Ternay commanded the fleet, which con-
sisted of seven sail of the line, a bomb vessel, and thir-
ty-two transports. The land forces consisted of about
six thousand men, under the command of count Ro-
hambeau. He fortified himself strongly at Newport.

In a few days afterwards a superior British fleet ap-
peared on the coast. But general Washington was led
to believe, that count de Guichen, from the West In-
dies, was on his way with such a reinforcement as
would enable the allies to proceed to the siege of New
York. When the expectation of the Americans, on
this point, were raised to the highest pitch, the mortify-
ing intelligence arrived, that de Guichen, without

giving notice of his intention, had sailed for Europe. The plan of the campaign was consequently frustrated. — Too much dependence should not be placed on allies : Nations, as well as individuals, should rely chiefly on their own exertions.

In September, a providential discovery was made of a treasonable scheme for delivering West Point into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the loss of Fort Montgomery, in 1777, this post was erected for the defence of North river, and to secure a communication between the southern and eastern states. It was the strongest place in possession of the Americans, and contained many valuable stores. General Arnold, who had the command, was brave, but mercenary ; fond of parade, and extremely desirous of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. He had exhibited heavy accounts and demands against the public ; and the commissioners of accounts, upon examination, rejected about one half of the amount. He appealed to Congress, and a committee was appointed, who were of opinion, that the commissioners had allowed more than the general had a right to demand. He was also tried by a court martial, on charges exhibited by the government of Pennsylvania, for oppressive and illegal conduct towards the citizens, when he commanded the troops in Philadelphia. The charges were found valid, and he was sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander in chief. This provoked him to outrageous expressions and proceedings. Disgusted at the treatment he had met with, he turned his thoughts towards bettering his circumstances by other means. Under pretence of being unable, on account of his wound, to take an active part in the line of the army, he solicited, and obtained from general Washington, the command of West Point, with an intention, as afterwards appeared, of delivering it to the enemy.

In 1779, a correspondence commenced between general Arnold and major Andre, adjutant general to the British army. For the speedy completion of the negotiation, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed in the North river, at such a distance from the American

posts, as without exciting suspicion, would serve for the necessary communication.

On the 21st of September, a boat was sent at night to the Vulture, for major Andre. He met Arnold, and continued with him the day following: at night, the boatmen refused to conduct him back to the Vulture, as she had shifted her position, to avoid the fire of a cannon sent to annoy her. He was therefore obliged to escape by land. General Arnold having furnished him with a passport, he pursued his journey towards New York, and passed all the guards on the road without suspicion. The next day he began to consider himself out of danger; but, unhappily for him, three of the New York militia, were on a scouting party, between the out-posts of the two armies. One of them seized Andre's horse. The major, instead of producing his pass, asked the man where he belonged to, who answered, "To below," meaning New York. Andre, suspecting no deceit, said, "So do I." Then declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained, for that he was upon urgent business. Upon the other two coming up, and joining their comrade, he discovered his mistake. The confusion that followed was apparent; and they proceeded to search him till they found his papers. He offered the captors a considerable purse of gold, and a valuable watch to let him pass; but they nobly distained the temptation, besides the fascinating offers of permanent provision, and even of future promotion, on condition of their accompanying him to New York. They conducted him to colonel Jameson, the officer who had the command of the scouting parties.

Major Andre, in order to give Arnold an opportunity to escape, requested that a line might be sent to acquaint him of the detention of Anderson, the name Andre had assumed. Jameson, through an ill judged delicacy, granted his request. The papers, which were found in the major's boots, were in Arnold's handwriting; they contained exact returns of the forces and artillery at West Point, remarks on the works, the number of men on duty, and a copy of matters that had been laid before a council of war. These papers were

forwarded to general Washington, accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be major Andre, adjutant general to the British army; and endeavouring to shew that he did not come under the description of a spy.

No sooner had Arnold received the major's letter than he hastened on board the *Vulture*. Had his plot succeeded, the consequences must have been ruinous to the Americans. The plan was, that the British should march against West Point, and Arnold's troops were to be posted in such a manner, that they would have been obliged either to lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces. Their loss, and the immediate possession of West Point, must have so exposed the remainder of the army, to the joint exertions of the British forces, by land and water, that nothing but ruin could have been the result.

On the 29th of September, general Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers, to examine major Andre's case, and to determine in what light he ought to be considered. Andre disdained all subterfuge and evasion, and voluntarily confessed more than was asked. The board shewed him every possible mark of indulgence, and sufficiently witnessed how much they felt for his situation. However, public justice obliged them to declare, "That major Andre ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Several letters passed between general Clinton and general Washington, relative to this unhappy affair; but nothing was capable of saving the unfortunate major. On the 2d of October, the tragedy was closed. The major was superior to the terrors of death; but the disgraceful mode of dying, which the usage of war had annexed to his unhappy situation, was infinitely dreadful to him. He was desirous of being indulged with a professional death, and had accordingly written, the day before, a pathetic letter, fraught with all the feelings of a man of sentiment and honour, in which he requested of general Washington, that he might not die on a gibbet. The general consulted his officers on

the subject. They were convinced that there would be an impropriety in granting the major's request; but tenderness prevented its being divulged.

When major Andre was led to the place of execution, he bowed himself familiarly to all those with whom he had been acquainted in his confinement. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked, with some emotion, "Must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode." Soon after, recollecting himself, he added, "It will be but a momentary pang;" and springing upon the cart, he performed the last offices to himself, with a composure that excited admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators.—Being told the final moment was at hand, and asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, "Nothing, but to request you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man." He died universally esteemed and regretted.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British service. But the splendor of military array, could not hide the infamy of his conduct.—He was the only officer of rank that ever became a traitor to the American cause.

The names of the three militia men that captured Andre, are John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert.—Congress ordered each of them a silver medal; and that they should receive two hundred dollars annually during life.

In September, Mr. Laurens, on his way to Holland, as minister from Congress, was captured by a British vessel. A packet of papers thrown overboard, and not sinking suddenly, was saved by the dexterity of an English sailor. On his arrival in England, he was committed, upon a charge of high treason, as a state prisoner, to the Tower. By the medium of his papers, administration came to the knowledge of an eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland.

In consequence of this discovery, strong remonstrances were made to the States General; but as no

satisfactory answer was returned, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and on the 20th of December, hostilities were authorized against the ships, goods, and subjects of the States General.

Britain was now at war with America, France, Spain, and Holland.—Hostilities were carried on in the four quarters of the world. The Spaniards seized the Floridas, and besieged Gibraltar; several of the West India islands were taken by the French; and even the East Indies were not exempt from the conflict. Immense fleets covered the ocean; and bloody battles were fought on that element. It is not, however, the intention of this epitome to recount these events. But while the exertions of America were languid or disastrous, her cause was, in effect, successfully maintained by the greatest nations in Europe.

It may be inquired, What could induce such an universal combination against Britain? The answer is, That it was not to be ascribed to a friendship for America, or a love to the cause of liberty,—but chiefly to a desire of humbling Great Britain, and a dread of her overgrown power, which would have been much increased, had a re-union taken place between her and the colonies.

SECT. X.—*The year 1781.*

Mutiny in the army—British invade Virginia—Battle of Guilford—Operations in South Carolina—Cornwallis surrenders.

WE are now come to an eventful year of the war. It commenced with a threatening aspect to the United States, but was crowned with glory and victory.

On the 1st of January, the Pennsylvania line in the army revolted.—They marched off in a body from their quarters at Morristown, and proceeded with their

arms and field pieces to Princeton. They elected temporary officers, and a commander in chief — However, they conducted themselves with prudence and moderation.—They declared that they only wanted a redress of their grievances; and that they had no intention to go over to the enemy, but were as ready to fight for their country as ever. They had engaged to serve for three years, or during the war: the three years were expired, and they claimed their discharge. It was insisted that they should serve during the war. They were destitute of clothing; their pay was in arrears, and what they got was in depreciated money. They demanded their arrears, and that the loss they sustained by the depreciation should be made good. Sir Henry Clinton sent messengers to the revolvers, offering them every thing they asked from their country, and that a detachment of his troops would be in readiness for their protection. But the patriotic revolvers disdained his offers, and delivered his commissioners to general Wayne. They were tried by a court martial, and executed as spies. A committee of Congress, and of the executive council of Pennsylvania, repaired to the camp of the revolvers. They attended to their complaints; gave a favourable construction to the terms of enlistment; and assurances of redress in other particulars.

A mutiny of the Jersey line took place on the 20th of January. This revolt was suppressed by force. They had not the same cause of complaint as the Pennsylvanians. However, as the army had been in a suffering state, exertions were made to furnish the troops with pay and clothing. A number of individuals subscribed large sums; which were expended in procuring the most necessary articles. The ladies exerted themselves also in their behalf; they purchased linen, and made a great number of shirts, which they forwarded to general Washington, for the use of his army. By these means the distresses of the soldiers were considerably alleviated. Congress passed resolutions, that the arrears of pay, and the depreciation should be fully made up.—Congress, indeed, had nothing but promises to give. Their treasury was empty, and their credit

exhausted ; nor had they the means of replenishing the one, or restoring the other. That body was invested with too little power for the public good.

In the beginning of May, the Congress money ceased to circulate. Great sums had been issued ; and the bills gradually depreciated, till two hundred paper dollars, passed for one of silver. Consequently, the money was useless either for the pay of the soldiers, or as a medium of commerce. This event had been foreseen with anxiety by the Americans, and with pleasure by the British. In order to hasten it, great quantities of counterfeit bills were struck in New York, and sent to different parts of the United States. The joy of the British on this event was extravagantly great. It seemed certain to them, that now the army must of necessity disband ; Congress dissolve ; the war terminate of itself ; and Britain triumph over her rebel subjects : But their hopes, as in all former cases, were disappointed.—About this time a beneficial trade was opened with the French and Spanish West Indies, by which quantities of gold and silver coin were imported. The French army in Rhode Island disbursed considerable sums. A loan was obtained from Holland, and a subsidy from France. So that a circulating medium of solid coin suddenly appeared. A regular system of finance was adopted, under the direction of Robert Morris ; the bank of North America was established ; and the operations of the war were carried on with vigour and effect.

Early in 1781, Arnold, with about sixteen hundred men, and a number of armed vessels, made a descent on Virginia. He marched to Richmond, Portsmouth, and other places, and destroyed great quantities of merchandize.

In order to put a stop to this havoc, and with a design to capture Arnold, gen Washington dispatched the marquis Fayette with twelve hundred men to Virginia ; and the French fleet sailed from Rhode Island to co-operate with him. The British admiral sailed in quest of the French. The fleets engaged on the 16th

of March ; they were nearly equal, and the battle ended without any material loss on either side : The French however returned to Newport ; and the British remained masters of the Chesapeake.

Arnold was at this time joined by general Philips, with two thousand men from New York. The ravages were renewed, and continued for several weeks ; and an immense quantity of property was destroyed. A few troops, under baron Steuben, were all the force the Americans had to oppose them ; while their fleet enabled them to make descents where they pleased.—The marquis de la Fayette arrived with his detachment, and in a considerable degree counteracted their manœuvres. In May they returned to Petersburg, where general Philips died, and Arnold fortified himself, waiting for assistance from lord Cornwallis.

General Greene took the command of the southern army in December, 1780. The troops under his direction were about two thousand men, one half of whom were militia, and in want of many necessaries : With this small force he had to contend with a superior army, flushed with repeated victories. Not being able to cope with Cornwallis in the field, he determined on a partizan war. Gen. Morgan, with one half of his troops, was sent to the western parts of South Carolina ; gen. Greene marched with the remainder of his forces to Hick's Corner.

At this time lord Cornwallis was ready to proceed for North Carolina ; but these movements retarded his march. He determined at first to attack general Morgan. For this purpose he detached col. Tarleton with eleven hundred men, and two field pieces. On the 17th of January, Tarleton, after a fatiguing march of some days, came up with Morgan at the Cowpens. Without any delay, he led his men to the attack, and engaged with impetuosity. Gen. Morgan had intelligence of his advance, and was ready to receive him. After a severe engagement, Tarleton was totally defeated. The British lost their artillery and baggage ; had three hundred men killed and wounded, and five hundred taken prisoners.—The Americans gained a

complete victory, and at a most critical time ; with the loss of only twelve men killed, and sixty wounded.

Lord Cornwallis was indulging himself in the pleasing hope of speedily reducing North Carolina, when he received the mortifying intelligence of Tarleton's defeat. He immediately determined to pursue Morgan, who had marched towards Virginia. He expected to be able to recover the prisoners, and make a stroke at the American army. Gen. Greene, being informed of Cornwallis's movement, left his troops to join general Morgan, ordering each division to proceed to Guilford court-house, where he intended they should form a junction.

Cornwallis pursued with expedition. Greene retreated with rapidity and judgment.—Incredible hardships were sustained by both armies. In the depth of winter, they marched through a barren country, forded creeks, were without tents or baggage, and often without provisions. Twice the Americans had a providential escape. They had just crossed the Catawba river on the evening when the enemy had reached it. Before morning a heavy fall of rain rendered the river for a while unfordable. A like circumstance happened at crossing the Yadkin, a few days after.—On the 7th of February both divisions of Greene's army joined at Guilford court-house.—He durst not yet risk an action. It was therefore resolved still to retreat ; he continued his march, and on the 14th crossed the Dan to Virginia. Just as the rear of the Americans had got over the river, the van of the British appeared. Not being in a condition to invade that powerful state, they discontinued the pursuit ; but were highly chagrined, that after all their toil, and when they thought Greene was just within their grasp, to find he had escaped their hands.

Cornwallis now fell back to Hillsborough, erected the king's standard, and called on all loyal subjects to join him. General Greene, being reinforced by a brigade of militia, re-crossed the Dan, dispersed some parties of loyalists that were on their way to the British army, deterred others from making the attempt, and frustrated the schemes of his adversary.

For three weeks, general Greene manœuvred near the British. Cornwallis twice made a stroke at him, but missed his aim. A considerable reinforcement having joined him, he no longer avoided an engagement. His forces consisted of upwards of four thousand men, mostly new levies. Cornwallis' army did not exceed two thousand; but were all veteran troops. On the 15th of March, the two armies met at Guilford court-house. Both commanders exerted themselves, at the head of their men; and after a hard and well fought action, for two hours, the Americans were obliged to retreat. They halted at the distance of three miles, collected their stragglers, and then retired several miles farther. They lost their artillery, and had about four hundred killed or wounded. This victory cost the British dear, they lost six hundred in killed or wounded, and were unable to pursue their advantage. In a few days, Cornwallis issued another proclamation, setting forth his victory, and calling on all the king's friends to join him: but on the very next day, he retired to Wilmington, North Carolina, leaving his hospital and wounded men to the care of the Americans. General Greene followed him for some time; and then formed the bold resolution of returning to South Carolina.

On the 20th of April, he encamped near Camden. This town was garrisoned by lord Rawdon, with nine hundred British troops. On the 25th, Rawdon attacked Greene with his whole force. After a smart conflict, victory inclined to the British. The Americans retired in good order, and at the distance of five miles, encamped in such an advantageous position, that Rawdon, though he had received a reinforcement, durst not attack them.

A number of small British posts, soon after this, were captured by the Americans; and lord Rawdon, finding his communication with Charleston, likely to be cut off, evacuated Camden, and retired below the Santee river. The British fort at Ninety-Six, garrisoned by five hundred men, was thereby left exposed to the whole force of general Greene. He immediately invested the place, and had made considerable progress in reducing

it, when he received intelligence that Rawdon was reinforced ; and with two thousand men was marching against him. He immediately attempted the fort by assault, but was repulsed, and obliged to raise the siege on the 18th of June.

The fortune of war again changed. After being nearly master of Carolina, gen. Greene was obliged to retreat to the extremities of the state. Lord Rawdon pursued him till he crossed the Enoree, the 21th of June. He then returned ; and general Greene followed him. Lord Rawdon ordered Ninety-Six to be evacuated, and having divided his army, took post at Orangeburgh. General Greene concentrated his force, and on the 12th of July, offered him battle. This offer his lordship declined ; and soon after sailed for Britain.

To force the British to quit their strong position at Orangeburgh, general Greene directed his light parties to proceed towards Charleston, in order to intercept their convoys, and cut off their communication with that city. This had the desired effect. Parties of the Americans approached within five miles of Charleston. Several skirmishes took place ; and convoys of provisions were captured or destroyed, and parties of the enemy killed or made prisoners.—In the mean time, general Greene took post on the hills of Santee, with his main army, and refreshed them for several weeks.

The British having again advanced to the Congaree river, general Greene marched against them. On his approach, they retired, and took post at the Eutaw Springs. General Greene collected his whole force, about two thousand men, and attacked them at this place on the 7th of September. Both armies were nearly equal in number, and fought with great bravery. But the British were at length routed. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and fenced garden, from whence they renewed the action. The Americans could not dislodge them. Gen. Greene ordered off the army, leaving a strong party on the field of battle. The British lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of eleven hundred men. It was

the most bloody, and hard fought action during the war, for the numbers engaged.

This battle put an end to the efforts of the British in Carolina. The next day they destroyed their stores, left their wounded, and retired to the vicinity of Charleston; from whence they never attempted any excursions, except for the purpose of depredation or forage.

Immediately after the battle of Eutaw Springs, the republican government was re-established in South Carolina:—About the same time, the General Assembly of Georgia assembled at Augusta.—These two states now began to experience a return of tranquillity. They had suffered exceedingly since the British invasion. The advancing and retreating of the armies, and the excursions of the light troops, laid the whole country open to plunder. The inhabitants, as they took part with the British or the Americans, were alternately subject to depredations.—Their animosity was carried to a dreadful height. They burned each others property, and shed each others blood.—The country was filled with widows and orphans. There was scarcely an inhabitant, but felt the general distress. Both armies suffered great hardships: general Greene was seven months without taking off his clothes one night.—The calamities experienced to the northward, were not comparable to those which took place in the southern states.

While lord Cornwallis lay at Wilmington, general Greene had advanced to South Carolina. For a while he was undecided whether to follow him, or join Arnold in Virginia. He determined on the latter. With little interruption he reached Petersburg. He found himself at the head of a very powerful army, of seven thousand men. The only force opposed to him, was about three thousand, under the marquis de la Fayette. The marquis was unable to face the British in the field, and therefore was obliged to retire with his little army. He made so judicious a choice of his posts, and was so circumspect in his movements, that no advantage could be taken of his weakness.—Cornwallis was sanguine as to his success in Virginia. He despised his young

opponent; and said, that the boy could not escape him. He sent several detachments to destroy the stores, and his superior force enabled him to traverse the country as he pleased. The legislature of Virginia was in session at Charlottesville, and nearly fell into his hands.

At Albemarle old court house, was the chief magazine of American stores: these were an object with both armies. While Fayette was forming a junction with general Wayne, and eight hundred of the Pennsylvania line, Cornwallis got between him and Albemarle, and posted himself on the main road. But the marquis was informed of another road, which had been disused, and was obstructed by fallen trees. These were removed in the night; and to the surprise of Cornwallis, Fayette next day placed himself in a strong position between him and the stores. His lordship finding his scheme frustrated, fell back to Williamsburgh. Fayette being further reinforced, followed him; and on the 26th of June, his light troops attacked the rear of the British, and obtained a considerable advantage.

One great object of the British in Virginia, was to establish a strong post and place of arms, by which they might render themselves perfectly masters of the Chesapeake. With this view, Cornwallis repaired to York-town, and fortified it, with Gloucester Point, on the other side of the river. He hoped soon to recommence vigorous operations,—but his military career in America was near a close.

On the 30th of August, count de Grasse, from the West Indies, with twenty eight sail of the line, entered the Chesapeake, and landed upwards of three thousand French troops, who formed a junction with Fayette.

The British fleet followed the French, and having joined the squadron at New York, they sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse came out to meet them. On the 5th of September, a partial engagement took place, in which the British suffered much in some of their vessels. In a few days, the French fleet from Newport joined de Grasse, which gave him a decided superiority, and the British returned to New York.

It is necessary here to observe, that early in the summer, a plan of the campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New York in conjunction with a French fleet expected on the coast. The French and American armies with this view formed a junction at the White Plains; and every preparation was made to carry on the siege.

Various reasons induced the commander in chief to make a change in his plan of operations. But he kept his intention a profound secret, and still continued to menace New York. When every thing was in readiness, the allied army crossed the North river, and proceeded to the southward, in order to attack Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton conceived that this was only a feint to draw off his attention from the defence of New York. He busied himself entirely in fortifying that city, and made no effort to molest the combined forces, nor yet to relieve Cornwallis, till it was too late.

The march of the allied armies took place about the latter end of August. At Chester gen. Washington received the agreeable news that de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeek.—Thrice before had the Americans been elated with hopes of a successful co-operation from a French fleet, and they had as often been disappointed: But the time was now come. The singular combination of force that took place at this time is worthy of remark. The fleets from the West Indies and Newport, and the combined armies from the northward, met at the Chesapeek nearly at the same time.—The Abbe Bandolet, in a discourse delivered on the occasion, says, “It is he whose voice commands the winds, the seas, and the seasons, who formed a junction on the same day, between a formidable fleet from the south, and an army from the north.—The combining of so many fortunate circumstances is an emanation from the All-perfect Mind.”

The allied armies rendezvoused at Williamsburgh. The whole force amounted to twelve thousand regular troops, and four thousand militia. The French fleet took such a position as to prevent the British from retreating, or receiving succours.

On the 30th. of September, lord Cornwallis was

closely invested in York-town. On the 9th of October, the besiegers opened their batteries, and on the 11th began the second parallel. Two redoubts of the British impeded their progress. It was proposed to take them by storm. The French attacked the one, and the Americans the other; both were carried in a few minutes—On the 16th, the British made a sally with four hundred men. They forced two redoubts, and spiked eleven pieces of cannon. This sortie however was of no advantage.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with near one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; while the British works were so destroyed that they could scarcely show a single gun. All hopes of relief were over; and the strength and spirit of the troops were exhausted by their unremitting fatigue. Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the necessity of preparing for a surrender, or of attempting an escape. He determined upon the latter. Boats were collected under different pretences, in order to pass over to Gloucester Point. He then intended by rapid marches to reach New York: but the weather, which had been moderate and calm, changed to a violent storm of wind and rain. The boats were all driven down the river, and the design of passing over was entirely frustrated. To surrender was now the only expedient.

On the 17th of October, lord Cornwallis sent a flag to gen. Washington, requesting a cessation of arms, and that commissioners be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. Commissioners were accordingly appointed; and the terms of capitulation being adjusted, the posts of York town and Gloucester were surrendered, on the 19th of October. The honour of marching out with flying colours, which had been denied to gen. Lincoln at Charleston, was now refused to Cornwallis; and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. The troops that surrendered prisoners exceeded seven thousand; but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand and eight hundred capable of doing duty. The

officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects. Fifteen hundred seamen, shared the same fate as the garrison. The *Guadaloupe* frigate of twenty-four guns, and a number of transports, were surrendered to the conquerors. About twenty transports had been sunk or burnt during the siege. The land forces became prisoners to Congress; the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admiral. The Americans obtained a fine train of artillery, consisting of seventy-five brass, and sixty-nine iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars.

On the 24th of October, a fleet and army, destined for the relief of Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeek; but on receiving the news of his surrender they returned to New York. About the 5th of November, de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeek.

The capture of Cornwallis caused unusual transports of joy. Every part of the United States resounded with shouts of triumph. Congress ordered a day of thanksgiving to be observed; and voted their thanks to the commanders, the officers, and men of the different corps employed in the siege.

When Sir Henry Clinton was convinced that the combined armies were destined for Virginia, he made a feint, as if he would march for Philadelphia. On this occasion the militia turned out almost unanimously to oppose him.—Arnold at the same time made an excursion to New London, in which he committed dreadful devastation on private property, wantonly destroyed many lives, and burnt that flourishing town. The article of confederation between the states was this year ratified.

SECT. XI.

Events in 1782 and 1783—Peace.

AFTER the capture of the British army in Virginia, offensive operations in a great measure ceased in America. The British in New York and Charles-

tor, seldom ventured without their works ;—and the American army was in no condition to attempt the reduction of these ports. Gen. Washington had earnestly requested count de Grasse to co-operate with him in reducing either or both these places ; but his orders constrained him to return immediately to the West Indies.

General Greene, being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, sent general Wayne, with a body of troops, into Georgia, where the British still held considerable territory. On his approach, they retired within their lines at Savannah. On the 21st of May, a considerable force marched out, with an apparent design of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got into their rear, attacked them at midnight, and totally routed the whole party.—This was the last engagement, of any consequence, with the British army in the United States.

The successes of Lord Cornwallis had been so great, and his accounts so pleasing, that the British ministry reckoned the subjugation of the colonies certain. Great was their disappointment and chagrin, on receiving the intelligence of his surrender. The parliament met on the 27th of November. Warm debates took place on the American war. At first, a majority was for the continuation of hostilities. But on the 27th of February, a motion for renouncing all offensive operations against America, was carried without a division. A change of ministry was the consequence of this vote. A new administration was formed : and an act passed, granting powers to the crown for concluding a peace with the colonies.

On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, and took the command of the British army. Soon after his arrival, he broke up the board of loyalists, on account of their ordering capt. Huddy, whom they had made prisoner, to be hanged.—Retaliation for this murder was threatened ; and capt. Asgill, a British prisoner, was selected by lot for this purpose. But as peace was approaching, and intercession was made for him by the French court, he was finally set at liberty.

The British having resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America, they evacuated their weakest posts. On the 15th of July, they left Savannah, and the Americans immediately took possession of that town.

On the 14th of December, general Leslie, who commanded at Charleston, completed the embarkation of his troops. General Wayne, had been before the works for several days, by order of General Greene. It was hinted by general Leslie, that if he was permitted to embark without interruption, care should be taken for the preservation of the city. Wayne was directed to accede to the proposal. Charleston was evacuated without the least confusion; the American advance followed close to the British rear. The governor was conducted into his capital the same day; the civil policy established the day following, and on the third, the town was opened for business. On the 17th, the British crossed the bar, and went to sea.

The French army sailed from Boston, in December.—By their exemplary behaviour they had gained the esteem of the Americans. In their marching through the country, they carefully respected private property; paid punctually for what they purchased; and not a complaint was ever made against them.

All the belligerent powers were now convinced of the policy and necessity of sheathing the sword.—Spain had taken Minorca; but, was obliged, after much expense, to raise the siege of Gibraltar. France had captured several of the West India islands; but her fleet, under de Grasse, on the 13th of April 1782, suffered a total defeat by the British.—Negociations for peace were opened. Provisional articles were first agreed upon between the British and American commissioners; which were to be ratified when peace took place between Britain and France.

On the 3d of September, 1783, the definitive treaties between Great Britain, France, and Spain, were signed at Versailles. On the same day the definitive treaty with Great Britain and the United States of America was also signed at Paris. By the articles of

this treaty, his Britannic majesty acknowledged the independence of the United States; their boundaries were also settled, and they were allowed the liberty of fishing and drying fish, as usual, on the banks of Newfoundland.

Though Britain was unwilling to grant the independence of her American colonies, yet her conduct at the peace was liberal. Towards the close of the war, the minister of France urged Congress to fix the terms of a treaty; and insinuated that it would be proper not to insist on the fisheries; and that Spain wished them not to claim the country beyond the Alleghany or the Ohio. At the negotiations for peace, the same points were brought into view; but Mr. Jay, the American minister at Paris, in order to have his country independent in fact as well as in name, insisted that the Americans should have a right to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and that their boundary westward should be the Mississippi: Being supported by his colleagues, Messrs. Adams and Franklin, a messenger was despatched to London, who stated, that it would be for the interest of Britain as well as of the United States, that they should have the territory required; and as the fisheries had been gained by their assistance, they had a right to participate in them. The British ministry were convinced of the propriety of the measure, and directed the treaty to be signed accordingly. No communication on the business was made to the court of France till it was completed.—The fact was, that though France was desirous that the colonies should be separated from Britain, she did not wish them to become a great power; and Spain was jealous of encroachments on her territories in the western world.

Large arrears being due to the army, it became a matter of some difficulty to disband them without payment. A mutiny of a few troops took place in Philadelphia, where Congress were sitting. It was feared at one time that a combination of the officers would be formed, not to disband till the claims of the army were finally paid; but by the prudence of general Washington, this alarming measure was prevented. A small

sum was advanced to the army. Certificates were given for the remainder. In these were included, as had been formerly promised, five years pay to the officers, in lieu of half pay; and eighty dollars as a gratuity to the private men. The like securities were given to all those who had demands against the United States.

On the 3d of November, the American army was discharged. Through the whole of the contest, they well deserved the name of the Patriotic Army. They were often destitute of clothing, scarce of provisions, and without pay: their footsteps might have been frequently tracked in blood over the frozen ground.—Yet they endured their sufferings with fortitude; were always ready to face the enemy, and refused the many seducing offers made to them by the British. When their sufferings became so great, as to cause them to revolt, their mutinies were easily quelled.—And, at the end of the war, they returned to their usual occupations, with only three months pay, in part of large arrears that were due to them.

The officers, in order to perpetuate their friendship, constituted themselves into a society, named (after the celebrated Roman Cincinnatus, who having vanquished the enemies of his country, returned to the plough) *The Society of the Cincinnati.*

On the 12th of November, the royal army evacuated New York. As soon as the British were withdrawn, general Washington, governor Clinton, the officers of the army, and the citizens, entered the city in an elegant procession.

General Washington having taken an affectionate leave of his officers, proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress was sitting; and, at a public audience, delivered his commission into the hands of the president.—He then retired to his seat in Virginia, to enjoy the repose of domestic life.

General Washington had done honour to the choice that was made of him, as commander in chief. He displayed integrity, valour, prudence, fortitude and equanimity, in the various difficult and trying situations of the war. Adversity did not depress him:

victory and applause did not render him haughty. He possessed, in a singular degree, the affection and confidence both of the citizens and of the army; and his retiring from the supreme command to private life, crowned his military career with glory. In his way from New York to Mount Vernon, he was every where received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. His country acknowledged his services, and loaded him with blessings.

SECT. XII.

General Remarks on the Revolution.

THE war, of which we have given a sketch, cost Great Britain four hundred millions of dollars, and the lives of fifty thousand of her bravest officers, soldiers, and seamen,—with the mortification of losing the object she contended for. America suffered greatly; many of her sons fell, much treasure was expended,—but she established her independence, secured her liberty, and rose to consequence among the nations of the earth.

The difficulties which pressed upon the United States, arose from various causes.—At the beginning of the contest, measures were adopted, under the idea of a reconciliation with Britain, which proved highly injurious when a total separation from that country became the object of the war. By the non-importation agreement, they deprived themselves of many articles of which they stood in absolute need. It would have been of vast advantage if they had doubled their importations, and furnished themselves with the means of facing their enemies on terms of greater equality.

The short enlistments of the army brought the country more than once to the brink of destruction.—Troops were engaged for a year,—sometimes for a shorter term. Before they were properly organized or disciplined, they claimed their discharge. In the winter of 1776, that critical period of the war, the

country was, by this means, nearly left without defence. Resort was often had to the militia; these, though they frequently rendered essential service in trying times, yet were an expensive and uncertain defence. Taken from their families and business, they soon became impatient of discipline, and anxious to return home. By this means, the army that appeared numerous one day, was greatly reduced the next. Had a sufficient force been at first enlisted, to serve during the war, it would probably have terminated much sooner, and with less waste of blood and treasure.

The peculiar nature of the contest also aggravated the calamities of war.—The British looked on the Americans as rebels, and often treated them as such. More than twenty towns and villages were burned,—a greater number plundered. Several parts of the states, particularly Jersey and Carolina, were desolated, and the property carried off or destroyed. The march, encampments, and incursions of the British army could be easily traced by ruins. To use the sublime language of Scripture—"The land was as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." Great cruelties were committed upon those that fell into their hands;—especially at the time when their cause seemed triumphant. The prisoners were numerous.—In New York, the soldiers were confined in churches, sugar-houses, and other open buildings. They suffered all the extremities of cold and hunger; and many hundreds of them perished from rigorous treatment. The sailors were put on board prison ships, and so crowded together, that diseases swept them away in multitudes. On board the Jersey prison ship, in New-York harbour, it is asserted that eleven thousand men perished.—In Charleston, the prisoners suffered in the same manner.—It is but justice, however, to add, that the prisoners taken in Canada were treated, by Sir Guy Carleton, with much humanity and generosity.

Though there was a surprizing degree of unanimity in the opposition to Great Britain, yet numbers were against any opposition. Early in the contest, these

parties were denominated Whig and Tory. The whig, expected the assistance of all the inhabitants of the colonies, and were exasperated at those who withheld their aid, or assisted the British. The tories complained of persecution; and that they were harassed, and exposed to violence, merely for preserving their allegiance to that government under which they were born. Many of the tories fled within the British lines, and were termed Refugees. The states declared them guilty of high treason, and their property was confiscated. Hence they were filled with rage, and a desire of revenge. Being well acquainted with the country, they were enabled to execute many schemes of devastation, which the British could not have effected without them.—In the southern states, this spirit of revenge raged with dreadful fury. Murder, house-burning, and plundering, were committed and retaliated, both by whig and tory, to the ruin and distress of individuals, and the disgrace of humanity.

The operations of the war were cramped, for several years, by the continental paper money. When the contest began, the Americans possessed but little of the precious metals. They had not an organised government to lay and collect taxes. To issue bills of credit, was the only resource that presented itself to Congress. This was no new plan in America: Bills had been emitted by several of the colonial legislatures, and had passed current equal to gold and silver. The continental money was first issued in 1775, and for eighteen months kept its nominal value. But as the calls for money to carry on the war were incessant, Congress, having no other source of revenue, continued their emissions. The bills gradually depreciated, and at length became of no value; and sunk in the hands of the holders. Congress had issued two hundred millions of dollars. Several of the states had also emitted considerable sums.

The distresses suffered by the American army, in 1777 and 1780, and the subsequent revolts, are chiefly to be attributed to the depreciation of the money. The pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his

horse; and the wages of a day-labourer were more than the pay of a general officer. Farmers were unwilling to part with the produce of their farms, and manufacturers refused to deliver such articles as they had contracted to make, for money that was not two days of one value. The army was kept inactive; and the best plans of the commander in chief were often frustrated, for want of means to carry them into effect.

Not only the army, but every class of the citizens, suffered by the continual depreciation of the money, and the consequent rise of every necessary of life, and article of merchandise.—To keep up the value of the bills, laws were passed, making them a legal tender; and for regulating the price of commodities. But notwithstanding these laws, the depreciation continued; and it was impossible to stop it, when such immense quantities were thrown into circulation. The tender acts consequently became a source of fraud and injustice:—they established iniquity by a law. Those who had long been in debt, and owed large sums of money, paid their creditors with a trifle. A debt of a thousand pounds was discharged with less than ten. The widow, who lived on a dowry, the orphan, who inherited a parents' property, were often deprived of their all by worthless creditors and executors. The rich became poor.—Those that were poor, sunk in debt, and taking advantage of the times, became rich. A spirit of speculation and fraud became prevalent, to the great injury of morals and industry. Dr. Witherspoon, in a pamphlet he wrote on this subject, says, "A new scene presented itself;—creditors flying from their debtors; and their debtors pursuing and paying them without mercy."—The continental money, however, was not without its advantages. At a time when the commerce of America was annihilated, by the restraining acts of the British parliament, and by the non-importation agreement, a circulating medium was suddenly created, which, for a while, answered the purpose of solid coin. A spring was thereby given to many articles of domestic manufacture; and, as it soon ceased to be an object of avarice as to the hoarding of it up, it passed quickly from hand to hand, whereby employ-

ment was given to many, who would otherwise have been unable to support themselves or families. This money also carried on the war for five years: and while the British ministry were embarrassed to raise taxes and loans, Congress were readily supplied from the printing-press. The continual depreciation, was in fact, a real, though involuntary and unequal tax; for the value of the money was always lessening in the hands of the holders. This money was never redeemed. It would have been impossible, and indeed unjust, to have done it, at its nominal value. By a kind of general consent, it was consigned to oblivion. Rates of depreciation was afterwards fixed, whereby, in private contracts, an equivalent in solid coin was to be held as payment for a nominal sum of paper money.

The want of sufficient power in Congress to command the resources of the country, was severely felt during the war. The Americans, though well acquainted with their rights, were inexperienced in the science of government. The Congress had nominally the supreme power; but they were actually subordinate to the legislatures of thirteen different states. They could issue bills of credit, but they could not lay a tax for their redemption. They could borrow money, but they had not power to establish funds for payment either of principal or interest. They could raise an army, but they could neither pay, feed, nor clothe them. They made requisitions on the different states; but the states were often backward to comply with their requisitions. Hence the wisest and best laid plans were often frustrated; the war languished; and the states were brought to the brink of ruin. The several states were fearful of placing too much power in Congress, lest it should be abused; hence that body often appeared in a weak and degraded state; without money, and without credit.—Congress for a while equally feared an abuse of power; hence the short enlistments, and the defective organization of the financial, commissary, and quarter-master departments, which often prevented the superintending officers from promoting the public service. By an excessive attachment to liberty, the cause of liberty was in danger

of being lost. Nothing but the enthusiasm and unanimity of the people could have carried them through a war, with a government so constituted, whose power was so feeble, and who could exert so little energy for the public good.

The embarrassments and difficulties in carrying on the war were great :—But they were compensated and greatly overbalanced by the important advantages of the revolution. A wide field was presented to the view of the patriot. An opportunity was offered of establishing liberty on a broad basis, and of instituting governments on the authority of the people.—The governments of the old world were adopted by chance, or imposed by conquerors ; and in the best of them many absurdities and oppressions exist ; such as hereditary nobility, exclusive privileges, an established religion, and an expensive government : But for a whole people to assemble peaceably, and without fraud or surprise, deliberately to form a government for themselves on the basis of equal liberty, and to provide for farther improvements, was a new event in the history of the world. It was a prize worth contending for. An opportunity was offered of extending freedom throughout the regions of America.

The minds of the people of the United States were expanded, and their genius exerted, in a great variety of ways during the war. Every man that chose to take an active part had an opportunity to display his talents. Statesmen, warriors, orators, authors, mechanics, of eminent abilities adorned the Revolution. Nor were the arts of peace wholly neglected during the storm of war.—The Europeans formerly entertained a contemptible opinion of the Americans, as if nature had formed them on an inferior scale. These ideas were completely done away. Their contempt was turned into admiration.

Compared with the immense armies of Europe, the numbers engaged in the American war appear trifling. Their operations, however, were as decisive, and the issue was as important, as if ten times the number had taken the field. It was impossible for Britain to trans-

port very large numbers to America, or to maintain them there. Owing to the various causes already mentioned, the troops of the United States were often few. The country, being thinly peopled, and full of woods and detiles, was much in favour of the American army. The British never durst venture far from their shipping, without subjecting themselves to capture or defeat; as was the case with Burgoyne, the British in the back parts of Carolina, and Cornwallis, when he was blockaded up by a superior fleet.—Gen. Howe was often blamed for his excessive caution in conducting the war. That commander, however, was perfectly aware of the difficulty of his situation, of the talents of general Washington, and of the promptness of the Americans in improving their advantages, when the British were entangled in any difficult position.—In the open country, British discipline, in the first periods of the war, prevailed; but it was no object for general Washington to contend for possession of the field of battle; nor yet to risk his army in fortified places. The disasters on Long Island, at Fort Washington, and Charleston, were owing to risking young troops against veterans, in these positions. The plan was afterwards to save the army, and gradually to train them up for active service. By this management, in a short time they became equal or superior to their foes.

The virtues of patriotism, of domestic and conjugal tenderness and fidelity, shone forth with a peculiar lustre. Many sacrificed their property to the public cause. The prisoners in the jails and prison-ships of the enemy, were offered their liberty, if they would join the British; but they voluntarily suffered hunger, cold, nakedness, disease, and death, rather than betray the cause they had espoused. In South Carolina, where the calamities of war raged with increased violence, ladies of the greatest delicacy voluntarily left their houses, and followed their husbands into prison-ships and exile, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and setting them examples of heroism and love of their country.

These remarks might be extended to a considerable

length, but only one more shall be added; it is of a moral kind, and was often made by philosophic observers during the contest.—The revolution of America exhibited the uncertainty of wealth, power, and riches in a very striking point of view; and made it evident, that no wise man ought to place his happiness in such fleeting enjoyments. The royal governors, and others who held offices under the crown of Britain, were hurled from their exalted stations, and often experienced insult or contempt. Many who were in affluent circumstances were suddenly reduced to want. Families whose connections were such as promised an increase of power and stability, were broken and dispersed, so as to become nearly extinct; while others, before unknown, rose to wealth, fame, and consequence.—It was a revolution among persons and families, as well as of a mighty empire.

CHAP. VI.

SECT. I.

From 1783 to 1789.

PEACE being established, and the sovereignty and independence of the United States acknowledged, it was hoped that the toils and anxieties of the revolution were over. But much remained to be done before the fruits of independence and peace appeared, in an increase of national prosperity and happiness.

At the close of the war, the debt of the United States was calculated at forty millions of dollars. Congress was engaged in devising proper means to pay the interest, and for a gradual discharge of the principal of this debt. A proposition had been made to the States to invest Congress with a power to lay an impost of five per cent. on all goods imported. Some of the States consented to this plan; others refused their concurrence. It was consequently rendered abortive. Requisitions were made, in terms of the confederation, to the States to furnish their quota of money to the federal treasury. But these requisitions were either disregarded or partially complied with. Congress were unable to fulfil their engagements. The interest of the debt was unpaid; and the public securities depreciated to a tenth part of their nominal value. The late army, and those who had furnished supplies during the war, were particularly injured by the deranged state of the public finances.

The attention of Congress was also bestowed on commerce. Treaties were made with some of the European powers. But Britain, whose trade was the most important, refused to enter into any negotiation, alleging the inability of Congress to fulfil their engagements, and that they could grant them nothing

reciprocal in a commercial treaty.—The United States possessed many advantages for trade, but these were in a great measure lost for want of a power in Congress to regulate commerce. The States were called upon to vest this power in their common head. But, like the five per cent. impost, the call was disregarded, by several of the States. The Americans were shut out from many ports to which they had access while they were dependent on Britain. High duties, equal to prohibitions, were laid, by foreign nations, on several of their most valuable articles of export, while every nation had free access to their ports. At the close of the war, large quantities of goods were imported into the United States. The balance of trade being against them, their specie was sent to pay for these cargoes. A scarcity of money was the consequence. Trade languished. Bankruptcies were numerous. Industry was at a stand. Real property, and the produce of the country, fell greatly in value.

Every one saw and felt these evils ; and many knew the cause and the remedy. But from a spirit of selfishness in the States, and a want of unanimity, there was little appearance of their concurring in any plan for the general good. In the mean time, several of the States undertook the business in detail. They passed laws, laying duties on foreign goods ; for emitting paper money ; for suspending the collection of debts, or making other articles than money a legal tender. These desultory regulations increased the evils they were designed to remedy. The laws of different States often clashed with each other. Pennsylvania laid a duty on goods imported into that state ; their neighbours of New Jersey and Delaware established free ports. The paper money depreciated in value. The tender acts were absurd, impossible to be executed, and reprobated by every man acquainted with trade or finance.

The United States seemed to be thirteen distinct sovereignties, each pursuing its own interest, while the whole was suffering. The enemies of America rejoiced : they thought the prediction verified, that the people could not govern themselves ; and that they

would be obliged to return under the dominion of Great Britain. The friends of independence were grieved, that a people who had courage and fortitude to carry them through a tedious war, and who were in possession of a fertile country, and valuable articles of commerce, should lose all the advantages that were within their reach, from a want of unanimity to adopt measures for the common good. It seemed doubtful whether independence would ultimately prove a blessing or a curse.

In 1786, an insurrection broke out in Massachusetts Bay. The legislature of that state, in order to comply with the requisitions of Congress, and satisfy her own creditors, laid a heavy tax upon the people. The deranged state of trade, and the want of public and private credit, rendered this tax very burdensome and unpopular. A large body of the people appeared in arms; obstructed the courts of justice, and demanded a redress of their grievances. This sedition threw the state into a convulsion, which lasted about a year.—A great majority of the inhabitants opposed the insurgents. And indeed it was impossible to know what advantages they expected from an insurrection. The government was of their own framing; and those that administered it was their own choice, removable by them at stated periods. But the people felt the pressure of their sufferings; and many were ready to adopt any measures, which turbulent leaders might recommend.—By the lenient measures of the legislature, and the prudence of generals Lincoln and Shepherd, who commanded the force of the state, the insurrection was quelled, with the loss of but very few lives.

The act of Congress, allowing the officers of the army five years full pay after the war, became extremely unpopular; as introducing pensions in a republican government. This act was not only proper, but absolutely necessary, at the time it was passed, in order to keep the army from disbanding. Having but little present pay, they were satisfied with an assurance of retribution after the peace. But the services being rendered, some were for depriving the officers of the reward.—The discontents were increased by

the institution of the society of the Cincinnati; which was represented as a combination dangerous to liberty, and as laying the foundation of an order of nobility. Uneasiness on these accounts pervaded several of the states, but especially Connecticut, where considerable ferments for a while existed; but they at last subsided, without breaking out into open violence.—The Cincinnati afterwards expunged the exceptionable part of their constitution; so as to confine it merely to objects of a charitable and friendly nature.

Soon after the war, Congress made arrangements for disposing and settling their vacant lands. In 1785, they passed an ordinance for establishing a temporary form of government for the north western, and south western territory, and appointed a governor, judges, and other officers. In 1787, two settlements were made: one at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum, named Marietta; the other at the mouth of the Miami.

Time is the parent of political wisdom, but its instructions are communicated slowly. Experience proved that the confederation was defective. The necessity of vesting a supreme power in the government of the union became evident. In 1785, Mr. Madison, in the Virginia legislature, made a proposition, that each state should appoint commissioners to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting commercial regulations. Next year delegates from several of the states met at Annapolis. But as all the states were not represented, and the powers of those present were too limited, they agreed to recommend a general convention to be held at Philadelphia, with powers to frame a government equal to the exigencies of the union. The recommendation was agreed to. Deputies from every state, except Rhode Island, met in Convention, at Philadelphia, on the 29th of May, 1787. General Washington was chosen president. In four months, they finished their business. By the new constitution, the powers of the general government were enlarged. Congress were empowered to carry their plans into complete effect, without waiting for the concurrence of the different states. One legislative, executive, and judicial power, was to pervade the whole union.

This constitution was submitted to conventions chosen by the people of each state; and it was agreed, that when ratified by nine states, it was to be put in operation among the states so ratifying the same. Conventions were chosen. The constitution underwent a critical examination. Those who were opposed to it, contended that the powers lodged in the general government were too great, that they were not only dangerous to the liberty of individuals, but that the state sovereignties would be annihilated, and the United States consolidated into one government. It was argued on the other hand, that an energetic general government was necessary, both for the preservation of liberty, and promoting the national prosperity; that the power of Congress was limited and defined; that each department would check the other; that the people had a controul at the stated periods of election; that every officer was responsible for his conduct; and that provision was made for amendments, as experience should point out their necessity. In some states, the constitution was adopted unanimously; in others by a considerable majority; and in several, the majority for it was very small. Several of the states, with their ratification, drew up sundry amendments, which they reckoned necessary to make the instrument more perfect. Rhode Island and North Carolina rejected it at first, and withheld their assent till after it was put in operation.—The ratification of the constitution was celebrated by splendid processions, in most of the capital cities of the United States.

SECT. II.—*From 1789 to 1797.*

President WASHINGTON.

ON the 4th of March, 1789, the first Congress, under the new constitution, met at New York. On counting the votes for President of the United States, it was found that George Washington was unanimously

chosen to that office : and that John Adams was chosen vice president. General Washington again left his retirement, at the call of his country, to enter on a new course of difficult, though honourable, service.

On the 30th of April, he was inaugurated President of the United States, in New York, amidst the joyful acclamation of many thousand spectators. This memorable day completed the organization of the new constitution*.

Congress immediately took into consideration the state of the union. The regulation of commerce was the first object that engaged their attention. They laid an impost on certain goods and merchandizes imported, and a tonnage on foreign vessels entering their harbours, both with a view of raising a revenue, and of encouraging American shipping. They established three great departments of executive government, which were to be conducted by officers under the style of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary at War, and the Secretary of State. The appointment of all officers, is vested, by the Constitution, in the President, with consent of the senate. But a difference of opinion existed, whether they should be removable at his pleasure, or should hold their offices during good behaviour. To hold offices at will, was by some thought too degrading and servile ; others alleged, that as the President was the supreme executive, it was necessary that other officers should be in unison with him, as to the administration of the government ; and that his responsibility would prevent an arbitrary use of his power. After considerable debate, it was determined that the officers should be removable at pleasure. Judges to hold their offices during good behaviour.

Congress organised the judiciary system, establishing a supreme court. They fixed the salaries of the public officers. The subject of amendment to the constitution, which had been suggested by several of the state conventions, was also taken up. A number of additional articles were agreed to, and transmitted to the legislatures of the States for consideration.—After a lengthy session they adjourned.

*For his speech to Congress on this occasion see Chap. VIII.

The chief business of the next setting was the funding of the public debt, making provision for a regular payment of the interest, and a gradual discharge of the principal. It was moved that there should be a resettlement of the debt, and the holders of certificates paid only the present market price. This was negatived, as being unjust and impolitic.—As a great part of the original holders of the certificates had sold them, at a great discount, some members proposed, that the holders should be paid only the present market price; by others it was moved, that the buyers should be reimbursed only what they had paid, and the remainder be given to the original holders. After much debate, both these plans were negatived. Justice and policy required that the present holders of the public debt, without distinction, should be paid the nominal value.

Congress also assumed such debts of the individual states as they had incurred in the common defence. This plan was warmly opposed, and carried only by a small majority. The debt assumed amounted to 20,500,000 dollars.

It was proposed to add some titles of honour to the President and Vice President of the United States, as Serene Highness, or Excellent. This measure would have been very unpopular, and was wisely laid aside.

Congress, this session, fixed on a place for the permanent seat of government. By the constitution they were empowered to accept such districts, not exceeding ten miles square, by the cession of any state, over which they were to have exclusive jurisdiction. They accepted a district, and laid out a city, on the banks of the Potomac. The district is called Columbia, and the city Washington. In this city their sessions were to be held after the year 1800. In the mean time they adjourned to Philadelphia.

At the opening of the third session, in December, 1790, the President, in his speech to both houses of Congress, exhibited a comprehensive, but pleasing view of the national prosperity, under the new system of general government. The advancement of public credit, evinced by the rise of the American stocks abroad, as well as at home, and the facility with which a consider-

able loan had been negotiated in Holland, during the recess. The productiveness of the revenue, beyond any calculation, afforded a proof of the fertility of the public resources, and insured a further increase of national respectability and credit; while the punctuality with which the duties had been paid, bore an honourable testimony to the integrity of the commercial part of the community, and of their attachment to the federal government.

In this session laws were passed for raising a revenue on spirits distilled within the States; for incorporating a national bank with a capital of ten millions of dollars; and for making an enumeration of the inhabitants. The two former of these laws met with a strong opposition. Against raising a revenue on domestic spirits, it was urged, that it was introducing an excise, a tax odious in its principle, and expensive in the collection. As to the bank, it was doubted whether Congress had power to incorporate one; and if they had, it was feared that an ambitious administration might use it as an engine of corruption and oppression. To these arguments it was replied, that domestic spirits was a fair object of taxation; they were not a necessary of life; that most of those on whom this tax would fall, paid little in any other way towards the support of government.—It was also argued, that Congress certainly had power to incorporate a bank; that it would be an advantage to have a source for borrowing in case of exigencies; that a bank would give facility to the fiscal operations of government; and that the fears of its opponents were without foundation, as it was contrary to the cautious plans of a banking company to engage in political speculations.

Kentucky and Vermont were admitted at this session into the union. Kentucky was part of Virginia, but being too remote for the purpose of government, the legislature agreed that this territory should be independent. Vermont had formerly been claimed both by New York, and New Hampshire: These States now renounced their claim. Two new links were thereby added to the federal chain.

The 3d of March, 1791, put a period to the labours of

the first Congress under the new constitution. They had entered upon untrodden ground. Several intricate questions in trade and finance had come before them. These underwent ample discussions ; and the measures devised by them were sanctioned by a great majority of their constituents. The beneficial effects of the new constitution began to appear. Public credit was restored. Commerce and manufactures revived. By the operation of the funding system, the public securities, which had hitherto been only an article of speculation, became an effectual substitute for real coin, to the great advantage of trade and agriculture. The state of the country was a complete contrast to what it was three years before.

The increasing prosperity of the United States was matter of congratulation by the President, at the opening of the second Congress, on the 25th of October, 1791. He says, “I meet you upon the present occasion, with the feelings which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country. Your own observations, in your respective situations, will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation : In tracing their causes, you will have remarked, with particular pleasure, the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed : And you will have observed, with no less interest, new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. The rapid subscription to the Bank of the United States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed in a single day, is among the striking and pleasing evidences which present themselves, not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community. The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by law, has been duly notified ; and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.”

Congress proceeded in making further arrangements in discharging their legislative trust. They passed laws for establishing a mint,—encouraging the fisheries,—regulating the post-office and post-roads,—and for organising the militia. It would be improper, in this sketch, however, to detail all their proceedings. The acts heretofore mentioned were of primary importance for carrying the constitution into effect, organising the government, and essentially necessary to the welfare of the union.

The legislatures of the several states being relieved from considering the requisitions of Congress, and from matters of national concern, which they were incompetent to manage, turned their attention successfully to internal regulations. The constitutions of several of the states were amended : laws were passed for making canals, improving roads, ameliorating the penal code, improving their judiciary systems ; and on other matters belonging to their peculiar jurisdiction, whereby the security and happiness of the people were promoted. The national and state governments moved in unison, exhibiting a new and pleasing spectacle to the world.

Amidst their general prosperity, the United States had to regret the existence of an Indian war. This was a remnant of the revolutionary war, carried on by the tribes north-west of the Ohio ; and had been chiefly directed against the frontiers of Kentucky. Several attempts had been made to establish peace with the Indians, but without success : Offensive operations were, therefore, directed against them, by the President, in 1790. General Harmar had the command of the expedition : but his army was defeated. In 1791, two incursions were made into their country, by the militia of Kentucky, under generals Scott and Wilkinson. They destroyed some of their villages and corn-fields, and took a number of prisoners. These operations not being decisive, only served to irritate the Indians.

A more important expedition, with a considerable army, consisting of regular troops and Kentucky militia, was conducted by general St. Clair. He was directed to penetrate into the country as far as the Mi-

ami towns ; and it was expected that he would have been able effectually to intimidate the hostile Indians, and make them sue for peace. But these hopes were disappointed, by the total defeat of St. Clair's army, on the 4th of November, 1791, near the Miami villages. The savages attacked the army before sunrise, and the battle lasted three hours. The Americans lost their baggage, and were obliged to retreat twenty-nine miles, to Fort Jefferson, which they reached about sun setting. The killed and wounded amounted to upwards of eight hundred men.

This defeat caused great consternation along the frontiers, and uneasiness throughout the United States. It was the second army that was defeated, in little more than a year. On the 12th of December, the intelligence of this disaster was laid before Congress. They proceeded to take the state of the frontiers into consideration, and that the war might be prosecuted with effect, they ordered three additional regiments to be raised. General St. Clair having resigned, the command of the army was given to gen. Wayne.

The President was still using endeavours to effect a peace. But the Indians were so highly elated with their successes, that they refused any terms of accommodation, and put to death the agents sent to negotiate with them. The summer of 1792 was spent in these ineffectually overtures, without any hostilities, except a daring attack made by the enemy, on a detachment of militia commanded by major Adair, in sight of Fort St. Clair ; in which they succeeded so far, as to carry off most of the horses of the detachment.—In the mean time, the army was recruiting, and great pains were taken to discipline the troops for the service in which they were to engage.

In 1793, the army advanced as far as the ground where St. Clair was defeated. At this place they built Fort Recovery. The Indians did not make any opposition till the 30th of May, when they attacked an escort of provisions, near the fort. A smart action ensued, and the enemy was repulsed.

Another year elapsed before any thing decisive took place. In July, 1794, general Wayne marched for the

Indian towns. The Indians had deserted their habitations, which appeared like a continued village for several miles, on the banks of the Au Glaize and Miami rivers. The fields of corn, and the gardens, were extensive, rich, and highly cultivated. Here the army built Fort Defiance, and prepared to follow the Indians, who had collected their warriors near a fort lately built by the English, at the rapids of the Miami. Previous to this march, general Wayne made one more effort for peace, and sent a flag to the enemy. To this message an answer was given. He marched forward, and on the 20th of August, the enemy attacked his advanced corps. A general action immediately commenced, and the Indians were totally defeated. General Wayne remained three days near the field of battle ; during which time the houses and fields near the fort were destroyed. He then marched back to the Au Glaize river, laying waste the whole settlement, for near fifty miles. This mode of warfare seems unfortunately necessary in all contests with the Indians.

The advance of the army so far into their country, the defeat they sustained, and the destruction of their habitations and provisions, damped the ardor of the savages, weakened their force, and disposed them to enter into negotiations for peace.

A treaty was concluded with all the hostile tribes, on the 3d of August, 1795. They made certain cessions of their lands to the United States ; and they received, at the signing of the treaty, twenty thousand dollars worth of goods, and were to receive nine thousand five hundred dollars in goods yearly for ever.

A constant solicitude has existed on the part of the government, not only to form treaties with the Indians on the principles of justice, and to protect them from encroachments of the neighbouring settlers ; but also to impart to them the blessings of civilized life. A sum is annually expended in distributing among the friendly tribes, both north and south, clothing, implements of husbandry, domestic animals, and utensils, suited to their circumstances. Several religious societies have also sent missionaries among the Indians, to establish schools, and instruct them in the principles of the

Christian religion.—A perseverance in such conduct will reflect honour on the national character. To civilize a tribe will be more glorious than to extirpate the whole race.

In 1792, General Washington was unanimously elected president the second time. John Adams was also re-elected vice-president.

The United States were placed in a new and critical situation by the commencement of war in Europe. The people of France, in 1789, effected a revolution in their government ; first limiting the royal authority, and then deposing and beheading their king. The neighbouring princes beheld them with a jealous eye ; and formed a coalition against them.—Hostilities commenced, first with Austria and Prussia, and then with Spain, Holland, Britain, and Germany. The United States were in alliance with France, and with Britain they had extensive commercial transactions. The cause of the French, as professing to be the cause of liberty, had naturally the affection and good wishes of the American people, who were also grateful for the assistance that country had given them in their struggle for independence. Peace and neutrality was evidently their interest. In the event of France being engaged in a war, she had, by treaty, peculiar advantages in the ports of the United States. Britain, being at peace with America, had a right to expect protection and liberal treatment in her harbours. It was determined to observe a strict neutrality ; to keep good faith in the fulfilment of treaties ; to cultivate peace, and to render justice to all nations. A proclamation was issued by the President, expressing the intentions of government, and the conduct to be observed towards the belligerent powers.

Early in 1793, Mr. Genet was sent from France as minister to the United States. He landed at Charleston, South Carolina. It seems to have been his immediate intention to embroil the United States with Britain. He had brought with him blank commissions for privateers, and for officers of land forces. Before ever he

came to the seat of government, privateers under these commissions were fitted out to cruise against the British ; prizes were made, brought into the harbours of the United States, condemned by his authority, and sold. He proposed to levy a force in the western country in order to invade the Spanish colonies. On his arrival at Philadelphia, his credentials were received. His conduct, however, was considered by the President as derogatory to the peace, neutrality, and sovereignty of the United States. Complaints against the conduct of Genet were made by the British minister. The animosities of France and England had frequently embroiled Europe: These powerful rivals were now exerting their influence in the United States. The points in contest were amply discussed by the secretary of state in his intercourse with these ministers.—But after the intentions and views of the President were made known, Genet set himself in opposition to his decisions. What rendered him so imprudent was the countenance he met with from many in America. On his arrival, he was hailed by the applause of the populace, as the minister of a free people. A party who had opposed the adoption of the federal government, and was inimical to the measure of the administration, seized this opportunity for renewing their opposition ; manifesting a determined enmity at Britain, and an improper predilection for France. About this time societies were instituted under the specious name of Democratic, who were opposed to the measure pursued by government, with respect to the belligerent powers. Genet from hence concluded, that the people, if unrestrained, would openly take part with France. The situation of the executive government was critical and embarrassing. President Washington acted with his usual prudence and firmness, and a great majority of the people gave him their unequivocal support. The conduct of Genet at length became so improper, that a request was made to the French government for his recall. They did so ; disavowed his proceedings, and sent M. Fauchet in his place.

Another, and a more serious embarrassment, arose from the spoiliations committed on the commerce of the

United States by the British. The king of England, in order to facilitate the reduction of the French West Indies, and from an apprehension that the Americans were too partial for the French, had given orders to capture all their vessels trading to these islands. In consequence of these instructions, a vast number of vessels were condemned. He also ordered all vessels loaded with flour bound to France to be stopped, and sent to one of his ports — American seamen were also impressed by British vessels. These depredations were highly resented in America, and war with Britain for a while seemed inevitable.

Complaints were also made of unjust treatment from French vessels, and French tribunals. It is very remarkable, that while the United States were at peace, and treating the belligerent powers with justice and good faith, they should suffer such insult and injury from both parties.

At the same time, the Algerine cruisers captured several American vessels, and carried the crews into slavery.

The President, in his speech at the opening of Congress, in December 1793, after having taken a view of the situation of the United States, in relation to the powers at war, proceeds as follows : “ I cannot recommend to your notice, measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, without placing ourselves in a situation of complete defence, and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it ; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.”

Congress took into serious consideration, the measures proper to be pursued. They resolved to fortify

the principal harbours of the United States ;—to procure military stores ;—to build frigates to protect their trade from Algerine depredations ;—that eighty thousand militia should be held in readiness ;—and for a time they laid an embargo, in order to prevent their vessels from falling into the hands of the British ; and to affect the commerce of that nation.

In the mean time, the President was unwearied in his executive duties. Before an appeal should be made to arms, or irritating restrictions laid on the British trade, he resolved to try every means of negotiation.—In April, 1794, Mr. Higginson was sent to the West Indies, to enter appeals for vessels condemned by the British courts.—Mr. Jay, chief justice, was sent envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, in order to claim reparation for the injuries to the commerce, and assert the rights, of the United States.—Remonstrances were made to the French government.—Negociations were also entered into with Spain, for the free navigation of the Mississippi, from the southern boundary of the United States to the ocean.—An agent was sent to Algiers, to treat for the ransom of the American captives ; and to negotiate a peace with that regency.

In 1794, when the United States were suffering from the contentions of foreign powers, they were afflicted with a domestic insurrection, in the western counties of Pennsylvania.

That there should have been an insurrection in these states, where the government is established by the people, where all the public officers are chosen by them, and where they have a complete controul over their legislature, by frequent elections at stated periods, is matter of astonishment and regret. The origin and progress of this insurrection, is delineated by the President, in his address at the opening of Congress, November 19, 1794. He says,

“ When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of heaven, by which the American people became a nation ;—when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness, to which it seems destined ;—with the deep-

est regret do I announce to you, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government,—and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order,—freely to unfold the course of this event :

“ During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power, granted by the constitution of the United States, “ to lay and collect excises.”—In a majority of the states, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation.—In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived ; until they were banished by reason and patriotism.—In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men, who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence.

“ It was perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had hitherto been pursued, was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the marshall, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

“ No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was directed against his person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue.—They fired upon the marshall ;—arrested him ;—and detained him for some time as a prisoner.—He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process, on the west side of the Alleghany mountain ; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he had served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector ; seized his papers of office ; and finally destroyed by fire, his buildings, and whatever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government ; it being avowed that the motives to such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector—to withstand by force of arms the authority of the United States—and thereby to extort a repeal of

the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

“ Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me, that “ in the counties of Washington and “ Alleghany in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States “ were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed “ by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by “ the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by “ the powers vested in the marshals of that district.” — On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed, what might best subdue the crisis. — On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws ; — crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without controul ; — the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence, or apparent acquiescence ; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principles of our Constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen — to publish the dishonour of such excesses — to encounter the expense and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition ; were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. — I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field — But I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act before the season should be too far advanced.

“ My proclamation of the 7th of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of Commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. — They were authorised to confer with any bodies of men, or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit in stating the sensations which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion : to represent, however, that without submission, coercion

must be the result ; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of executive power.—Pardon too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

“ Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities ; and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted ; all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe the mild form which was proposed as an atonement ; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general, nor conclusive, to recommend or warrant, the farther suspension of the march of the militia.

“ Thus, the painful alternative could not be discarded.—I ordered the militia to march ; after once more admonishing the insurgents in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

“ It was a task of too much difficulty, to ascertain with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection.—From a respect, indeed, to economy, and the ease of my fellow citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate.—My very reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers.—In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt, and adequate in every view, and might perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood.

“ While there is cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature, should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity of any part of our community, or should have directed to a new application, any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune.—It has been demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations ; by furnishing an additional proof,

that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty ; that they feel their inseparable union ; that notwithstanding all the devices, which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation.—It has been a spectacle displaying to the highest advantage, the value of a republican government, to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens, standing in the same ranks, as private soldiers ;—pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the Constitution ;—undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement.—Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation, which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the states, to whom my requisitions have been addressed.”

The campaign, agreeably to the opinion formed by the President, terminated without bloodshed. The insurgents made no opposition to the army. Several of the most obnoxious ringleaders fled : A number of the others were arrested. The courts of law were re-established in the exercise of their authority ; and the excise put into full operation.—The insurrection was but a momentary delusion. The people soon returned to their duty. Those that were tried and condemned, were reprieved by the President ; so that no blood was shed on this occasion.

Thus ended the eventful year 1794. At its commencement, the whole world seemed to lour upon the United States. The British captured our vessels. The Algerines made prizes of our ships, and carried the crews into slavery. The Indians attacked the western frontier ; and to complete the gloom, an insurrection broke out among ourselves. But the political horizon cleared up before the end of the year. The Indians were defeated ;—the Algerines ceased their ravages ;—the British recalled the order for making prizes of vessels ; and the insurrection was quelled without bloodshed.

In 1793, an event took place in Philadelphia, which though unconnected with politics, deserves notice.—This was the Yellow Fever. It appeared about the beginning of August, and continued three months ; during which time four thousand of the inhabitants died. The greatest height of the disorder was about the middle of October, when one hundred and twenty died in a day. Many fled to the country. Business languished. The streets became a desert. Distress appeared in every form. In the midst of this calamity, much humanity and benevolence were exercised. A committee took charge of the sick poor. A house, attendance, and medicines were provided for them. The orphan children were collected together, nursed, fed, and clothed. Donations from various parts of the United States, were sent to the relief of the city.—About the middle of November the disorder ceased ; the citizens returned to their habitations ; and business resumed its course.

Since 1793, the same disorder has repeatedly appeared in Philadelphia, and other commercial cities.—It commences in autumn, and disappears with the first frosts. It is disputed, whether it originates in the country, or is imported. It is certain, that disorders somewhat similar have appeared in various parts of the United States. To prevent its recurrence, laws enforcing a quarantine, and for establishing a health police in the cities, have been enacted in all the states on the sea-coast.

The ministers sent by the President of the United States to negotiate with foreign powers, were all successful. In 1794 and 1795, treaties were concluded with Britain, Spain, Algiers, and the hostile Indians.—The treaty with Spain ascertained the western and southern limits of the United States, granted them the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a place of deposit for their merchandise at New Orleans ; and fixed a mode for adjusting the claims against Spain for the illegal capture of American vessels.—Algiers delivered up the prisoners on being paid a ransom ; and is to receive twenty-four thousand dollars yearly, for the

privileges granted by the treaty.—The treaty with Britain embraced a variety of matters. The Americans complained not only of the capture of their vessels, but that the British held various posts on their north-west frontiers, contrary to the treaty of peace. The British replied, that debts due to them, to a great amount, had been withheld by legal obstructions, contrary to that treaty. Some doubts also existed about which river was the north-eastern boundary of the United States.—By the treaty these differences were put into a train of settlement. The British agreed to deliver up the western posts. Commissioners were to be appointed by each party, to adjust the sums due by the British for illegal captures ; and by the Americans for the debts that had been withheld ; and to determine the disputed boundary. Sundry commercial articles were added, which were limited in their duration.

When these treaties were laid before the house of Representatives, money was readily voted to carry them all into operation, except that with Britain. To this there was a strong opposition. The debates on the question lasted several weeks, and the vote for the appropriation of money to carry it into effect, was carried only by a majority of three. Before this vote was taken, the House requested the President to lay before them the papers relative to the negociation. This request he refused, as the House had no constitutional right to require them, and as it would establish a dangerous precedent.

The public mind was more agitated and divided on this subject, than on any other since the adoption of the federal constitution. Numerous essays were written for and against it, and public meetings held on the subject. Some alleged that it was not reciprocal ; that it drew the states too much into connexion with England, and was a breach of that neutrality which had been assumed. Others as warmly espoused it, as politic and just. The President for a while hesitated to ratify it.—Various reasons existed to divide the public mind. The irritation occasioned by the revolutionary war was scarcely healed. The British were still impressing American seamen, and stopping their vessels with provisions bound for France. Attachment to

France prevailed with many ; while others seized the opportunity to embarrass the executive government. The treaty however quietly went into operation, and the articles of it have all been fulfilled ; with one modification, that instead of the American debts being settled by commissioners, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling was accepted, in gross, for them.

“Since a lapse of years has now cooled the minds both of friends and enemies of the treaty, most men will acknowledge that the measures adopted by Washington with respect to it was founded in wisdom ; proceeded from the purest patriotism ; were carried through with uncommon firmness ; and finally eventuated in advancing the interest of his country.”

At the opening of Congress in December 1795, the President in his address to both houses, gave it as his opinion, that he never met them when the affairs of the United States were in a more prosperous situation. The inhabitants increasing in number and wealth, commerce extending, landed property and raw materials rising in value, manufactures growing up to perfection, a vast increase of exports and shipping ; and the citizens enjoying the blessings of peace, plenty, and free government.

North Carolina, in 1789, ceded to the United States a large tract of her western lands. This country was called the Southern Territory, and was erected by Congress into a separate government, on the same plan with the North Western Territory.—The inhabitants having increased to upwards of thirty thousand, sent forward, in 1794, a delegate to Congress ; who was allowed a seat in the house of Representatives, with a right of debating, but not of voting. In 1796, this territory having attained a suitable population, was erected into a state, by the name of Tennessee, and was admitted into the union.

The differences with Britain being put in in a train of adjustment, a new scene of altercation took place with France. When these two haughty nations are at war, it seems nearly impossible to remain at peace with both. France had now assumed the name of a republic ; and while internally the country groaned under pro-

scriptions, massacres, and bloodshed, the armies were gaining the most splendid victories over their foreign enemies. Holland was conquered, Austria humbled, Prussia made peace, and Spain became an ally. Britain was mistress of the sea ; totally defeated the fleets of her adversary, captured most of her colonies, and nearly annihilated her foreign trade. The French, in order to distress Britain, prohibited the use of her manufactures in all the countries under their influence ; and ordered their privateers to seize the vessels in which any of their goods were found. This last part of the order was particularly injurious to the United States, who by their neutral position, had become carriers to the belligerent powers. Many of their vessels were captured. Representations were made to the French government, but without effect. The aggressions continued, particularly in the West Indies ; and not only English goods, but American property to a great amount was condemned.

At the opening of the Congress, December 7th, 1796, the President informed them, that " while some serious inconveniences and embarrassments had been overcome in our external relations, circumstances of a very unwelcome nature had lately occurred ; and that the American trade had suffered and was suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruisers and agents of the French republic ; and that communications from its minister, M. Adet, indicated a farther disturbance, and were otherwise of a disagreeable nature."—In this address, the President urged the necessity of a naval force to protect commerce, and secure respect to our flag ; for it had appeared, that the most sincere neutrality was not a sufficient guard against the nations at war. He expressed his determination to persevere in maintaining a cordial harmony with the French republic, as far as consistent with a regard to the honour and interests of the United States. He urged their attention to various other matters ; such as, the encouraging manufactures, and agriculture ; establishing a national university, and a military academy. Attention to these necessary objects would render the country prosperous, enlightened, respectable, and truly independent.

As President Washington had determined to retire, this was the last address he made to Congress.—He also published an address to the people, giving them his final advice and directions about matters essentially necessary to the welfare of the United States.* The Address was received with respect and veneration throughout the union ; and contains precepts to which Americans cannot too frequently recur.

Congress, however, did not adopt the measures recommended by the President, in his speech at the opening of the session. For notwithstanding his immense popularity, a strong opposition had been formed against his administration. The funding system, the bank, the proclamation of neutrality, the British treaty, had all been the subject of the most bitter invectives. Even in his cabinet, divisions existed. Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state, and Mr. Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, were of opposite sentiments on many important subjects. None, however, suspected the purity of the President, and the wisdom of his measures appeared in their beneficial effects.—On his return to his seat at Mount Vernon, he received the most flattering marks of esteem and affection from the people ; who, in general, regarded him as the political Saviour of his country.

The utmost reluctance was manifested to strengthen the hands of the executive, by increasing the military establishment, and particular, in building vessels of war. A navy was viewed as calculated only to increase the public burdens, to swallow up the resources of the country, and prevent the extinguishment of the debt.

SECT. III.—*From 1797 to 1801.*

President ADAMS.

IN the end of 1796, an election was held for a President and Vice-president of the United States. The candidates were John Adams, the Vice-president, and Thomas Jefferson, late secretary of state. Mr. Adams was chosen President by a small majority ; Mr.

* See Chap. VIII.

Jefferson was of course Vice-president. They entered on the duties of their office on the 4th of March 1797.

The differences with France continued to increase. That nation was intoxicated with success, and expected every thing was to bend to its will. The treaty with Britain was made a pretence for new hostilities. The executive government of France was at that time vested in five persons styled a Directory. They suspended the functions of their minister to the United States; and Mr. Pinckney, who had been sent to Paris by the late President, was refused an audience, and even requested to leave France. The French Directory, at that time, used to profess friendship to a people, while they were hostile to their government. This insidious mode was practised with the Americans; but they had the good sense to see its fallacy. By this time their enthusiasm in the cause of the French began to abate. It appeared that they were not contending for liberty, but dominion; and the sanguinary scenes that had taken place at Paris, struck every one with horror.

The American government was still desirous of a good understanding with France, but firm in maintaining its rights. On receiving intelligence of the treatment of Mr. Pinckney, President Adams summoned Congress to meet in May 1797. At the opening of the session, in a firm and dignified speech, he informed Congress of the hostile appearance and insulting conduct of France; he also recommended them to provide a navy for the protection of American commerce, and to put the country in a state of defence.

Congress entered fully into the views of the President; and during this and the ensuing session pursued a system of energetic measures, offensive and defensive. They established another executive department, under the care of an officer, styled the Secretary of the Navy. They provided a naval armament; allowed merchant vessels to arm for their own defence; collected military stores, and authorised the President to raise a provisional army; they passed a stamp act, and laid a direct tax on lands, houses, and slaves, and authorised the President to borrow money for the public service;

they suspended the commercial intercourse with France, and declared the treaties made in 1778, no longer obligatory on the United States ; they entered into a state of qualified war, allowing their armed vessels to capture the armed vessels of France ; and, for domestic safety, they passed an alien and a sedition law.

The President being entrusted with such ample and almost unlimited powers, both of the purse and the sword, proceeded to his executive duties. He first attempted negociation. General Marshall, General Pinckney, and Mr. Gerry, were sent to Paris, as ministers from the United States. These gentlemen proceeded to the place of their destination ; but the French government did not admit them to an audience. An informal communication took place with unofficial agents ; in which the haughtiness and venality of the French Directory was manifested. They required concessions for some of the President's speech at the opening of Congress ; they boasted of their power to injure the United States ; and insinuated the necessity of loans and gifts. The American ministers were temperate and firm, and supported the dignity of their country. They transmitted an account of their reception, and of the communications that had been made to them. The President laid a copy of the despatches before Congress ; and the Senate ordered them to be published.

The President immediately directed the ministers, that if they were not received in a public character, they should demand their passports, and leave Paris. This they did. The French Directory, who had of late seen the ambassadors of the humbled monarchs of Europe supplicate their friendship, or deprecate their wrath, were disappointed at the firmness of the American envoys. The measures of the President, and the conduct of the ministers to France, met with the approbation of the people, who were indignant at the conduct of the Directory, and determined to support the honour and independence of their country.

A public armed force, according to the directions of Congress, was speedily equipped. It consisted of fifteen frigates and twenty-one sloops of war, and smaller vessels. This force was so judiciously stationed, as

to afford essential protection to the West India trade. They made several captures, one of which was a French frigate of thirty-six guns. The merchant vessels armed in their own defence. Some gallies were built; and fortifications were erected for the defence of the harbours.

A provisional army was organised; and a number of volunteer militia corps offered their services for the defence of their country. General Washington was again appointed commander in chief. As he approved the measures of the administration, he accepted the appointment, on condition of not being called to service till the army was ready to take the field.

Carrying into effect the plans of Congress caused a considerable expense; to meet which, till the stamp duties and direct tax came into operation, a loan was opened at eight per cent. The interest being high, the loan was speedily filled.

These decisive and energetic measures, probably induced the French Directory to change their conduct. Intimations were made to the American envoy at the Hague, that a minister from the United States would be received with the respect due to a powerful and independent nation. President Adams had formerly, in a message to Congress concerning the treatment of the American ministers, expressed his determination not to send another envoy without such an assurance. Being ready to embrace the first advance toward a reconciliation, he nominated Oliver Elsworth, chief justice, William Davie, late governor of North Carolina, and William Murray, ministers at the Hague, as envoys extraordinary to the French government. They proceeded to Paris; but before they reached that city, a revolution had taken place in the government. The Directory were overthrown, and Bonaparte had seized the government under the title of first Consul. He appointed three ministers to meet the American envoys. A treaty was concluded, which was ratified by both governments with some exceptions. It was limited to eight years from the exchange of the ratifications on July 31st, 1801. In this treaty no mode was fixed for adjusting the American claims for illegal captures. The French plenipotentiaries insisted on a renewal of the

treaties of 1778. These points were left open for discussion. But at the final ratification, both claims were renounced. The treaty of alliance in 1778, though apparently equal, would eventually have been injurious to the United States. By it France guaranteed their independence ; and they guaranteed to France all their possessions in America. The annulling this guarantee was of great advantage to the United States ; as by it they would have been dragged into every war betwixt Britain and France.

On receiving pacific intelligence from France, the provisional army was immediately discharged ; and the armed vessels mostly laid up.

The direct tax on houses and lands, though equitable in its principle, met with some opposition in Bucks and Northampton counties, Pennsylvania ; and the officers appointed to carry it into execution were by force obstructed in their duties. A body of militia, chiefly cavalry, was ordered to march into these counties. The insurrection was instantly quelled. A few ringleaders were seized, and tried in the civil courts. One of them was condemned to die ; but the President pardoned him. There is an abhorrence in the American character to blood. The mutinies in the army, and the insurrections among the citizens have been appeased without those sanguinary measures often restored to in Europe.

The acts of Congress, styled the Alien and Sedition laws, were unpopular. By the first, the President was empowered to seize any alien whom he might suspect to be inimical, and order him to depart from the United States. This law was never put in force by the President : but the power was perhaps too great to be intrusted to any man, unless the country had been invaded. The sedition law imposed fine and imprisonment for writing and publishing any thing to bring the government or the officers thereof into contempt. Several persons suffered under this law. There were, about the time it was enacted, some very atrocious libels published against the President, and other characters in office, wrote by aliens. And it is remarkable, that publications of this tendency have been, and still are,

chiefly wrote or published by persons of this description. The most worthy characters have suffered by their abuse. But the citizens of the United States are extremely attached to the liberty of the press, and jealous of any attempt to abridge it. Prosecutions by government, on account of political publications, are peculiarly unpopular ; and they generally injure the administration they mean to support.—The alien and sedition laws expired by their own limitation, and were not renewed.

Another law was passed during the differences with France, which altered the time of residence, from five to fourteen years, before a foreigner could become a citizen. This act was deemed impolitic by many, as discouraging settlers from resorting to these states, where there was so much vacant land to occupy. But it was by others held improper to admit foreigners, without property, attachment to the country, or knowledge of the principles of the government, to participate too early in the right of electing, or being elected to office. They enjoyed almost every other privilege of citizens, immediately on their arrival in the United States.

On the 14th of December, 1799, general Washington, in his 68th year, died of an inflammatory sore throat. He was one of the greatest and most popular men that ever existed ; a statesman and a warrior ; of a sound and vigorous judgment ; had had an ardent love of liberty, and his country. His exertions were all for the public good. After filling the highest offices, he voluntarily retired to private life, having the supreme felicity of seeing his labours crowned with success, and his country in the highest state of prosperity.

He was born in Virginia, on the 11th of February, old style, (now the 22) 1732. He was of English extraction, the third in descent from the migration of his ancestors. When he was but ten years of age, his father died : His mother lived to see her son President of the United States. The eldest brother survived his father but a few years. The patrimonial inheritance of Mount Vernon then came into his possession.

His youth was spent in the acquisition of useful know-

ledge. When about twenty-one years of age, he entered into the service of his country, and continued in her service, in various civil and military offices, till his death. The external appearance of President Washington was exceedingly graceful. He was tall, straight, and well proportioned.

He married Mrs. Custis, an amiable widow, of the same age with himself, with ample jointure. He was possessed of a very large estate, which by will, after the death of Mrs. Washington, he chiefly left to his relations, as he had no children. He liberated his slaves, and directed that those who were aged or infirm should be supported by his heirs. He bequeathed four thousand dollars to the support of a free school in Alexandria; and fifty shares in the Potomak Canal Company, which, as a mark of their esteem, had been presented to him by the legislature of Virginia, was left towards endowing a national University, if established in the District of Columbia.

The greatest respect was paid to his memory, Congress went into mourning; the pulpits were hung with black; funeral orations were delivered, and mournful processions made through the United States.—While merit is honoured, or virtue esteemed, mankind will venerate his memory, and his name will be peculiarly grateful to the citizens of the United States.

In 1800, the public offices were removed to the city of Washington, and Congress met there in December for the first time. The District of Columbia, over which Congress exercises exclusive jurisdiction, is ten miles square. It lies on both sides of the Potomak, and includes Alexandria in Virginia, and Georgetown in Maryland. The city of Washington, on the Maryland side of the Potomak, is four miles square, laid out on an elegant plan, and has an excellent harbour. The public buildings are magnificent. It was a favourite project with general Washington to have the seat of government fixed at this place; but, being an entire new city, the accommodations of Congress have as yet been much inferior to what they were in Philadelphia or New-York; and it has been several times in agitation to remove to a more populous place.

The judiciary system of the United States had been found defective ; particularly in the judges of the supreme court having to ride such extensive circuits, as at times to prevent their holding courts. In the beginning of 1801, a new judiciary law was framed, in which several courts were instituted, additional judges appointed, and the whole system arranged in a new manner.

At the close of the year 1800, the election for President and Vice-president again recurred. The candidates at this time were John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Charles Pinckney, and Aaron Burr. Parties ran high at this election : Those who were against adopting the federal constitution, had generally been opposed to its administration. President Washington did not always escape their censure ; and some of the measures of Mr. Adams were peculiarly obnoxious to them.

The direct tax, the alien and sedition laws, the provisional army, the eight per cent. loan, the stamp act, were fruitful sources of declamation. Much pains were taken to render them unpopular. Perhaps some of these high measures were not altogether necessary ; and they were not of a nature to be popular, even allowing their necessity. But Mr. Adams held the reins of government at a critical time, when the arrogance of the French government was at its height ; and when political parties in the United States were violent. He had always been a friend and supporter of the American cause ; and seconded the motion in Congress, in 1776, for declaring the colonies independent. His administration for a while had the public support ; the loan was immediately filled ; a great number of militia offered their services, and numerous approbatory addresses were presented to him. But it rarely falls to the lot of any man, to retire from such a high station, with the reputation and favour that brought him into it. And it is the glory of our republican government, that the people have the supreme controul : and that when they apprehend their rulers err, they can effect a change of measures at the periods of election, without tumult, or the hazard of a revolution.

At the opening of the certificates of the electors for

President and Vice-president, it was found that Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, had the highest, and an equal number of votes. The election of which of them should be President devolved on the House of Representatives. They were to vote by states, and a majority of all the states were necessary to make a choice ; but no debate was allowed. The House proceeded to ballot ; but the members were so divided, that they spent six days, and balloted twenty nine times, without making a choice. At the thirtieth ballot several of the opposers of Mr. Jefferson withdrew, and he was elected. Mr. Burr was of course Vice-president.

CHAP. VII.

*From 1801 to 1807.**President JEFFERSON.*

ON the 4th of March, 1801, Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated as President. His speech on the occasion was of a conciliatory nature.*

This election was a new æra in the politics of the United States. Those who were called Federal, and had held the government since the new constitution was adopted, were thrown out of office, and their political opponents, styling themselves Republicans, placed in power. A like change of officers took place in most of the state governments.

It was objected to the late administration, that they had needlessly created officers, and wasted the public money. Economy was now popular. The President immediately suspended or slackened several expenditures, and proposed farther retrenchments.

It had been the practice of Washington and Adams to address Congress in a speech, at the opening of the session. Mr. Jefferson varied the mode, and sent them a message in writing. This was an improvement in the official intercourse. Congress always returned an answer to a speech; and when parties ran high, considerable delay and irritation was occasioned in drawing it up.—No answer being given to a message, Congress could calmly proceed to business, with having pledged themselves to any measure by their reply to the President.

In December 1801, Congress met, and the President informed them of the various measure he had pursued; and recommended a variety of subjects to their consideration. A great majority being of the same sentiments with him, his plans were nearly all adopted. The judiciary law, passed at the close of the late Congress, was, at his recommendation, repealed. The expediency as well as the constitutionality of this repeal was

* See Chap. IX.

much questioned. Many were of opinion, that as a judge was to hold his office during good behaviour, he could not be removed but by the Senate on impeachment ; and that he ought to be equally independent of the legislature and of the President. To this it was replied, that Congress had power to institute or abolish courts ; and that if the courts were abolished, it was unreasonable to say they must continue the judge, and pay him his salary. This was an important point, and requires more calm investigation, than could be bestowed on it in the heat of party. Another judiciary law was passed, in which the circuits were so arranged, that the judges were relieved from their inconvenient journies to hold the courts.—The excise law, the stamp act, the tax on pleasurable carriages, and the direct tax were all repealed ; though some contended, that being in operation, they ought to be continued for a more speedy discharge of the public debt ; or if any abatement of taxes took place, it should be on coffee, sugar, and salt, and not on articles of luxury, or that are not necessities of life, as carriages and whiskey.—It would have been as wise, though not so popular, to have continued these taxes. The country was in a high state of prosperity ; and could have borne these additional burdens with ease. The national debt would have been sooner extinguished : or a fund have accumulated for executing national works, or in case of a defalcation of the revenue, as soon after took place, the necessity of loans would have been superseded. The law which enacted that a foreigner should be fourteen years in the country before he could be naturalized, was repealed, and the term reduced, as formerly, to five years residence.—A plan was also adopted for a speedy and regular discharge of the public debt, which, if persisted in, will extinguish it in about fifteen years.—According to an act of the late Congress, the armed vessels were sold, except thirteen frigates and some smaller vessels.

An alteration in the constitution of the United States that had been some time in agitation, was carried into effect. It had been the mode, in electing the President and Vice-president, that no person was designated for the respective offices. The highest in number, if a ma-

jority of the whole voters, was to be President, the next to be Vice-president. It was proposed by Congress, that the electors should add the office to the name of the person designed to fill it. This was agreed to by the states, and is became part of the constitution. The disagreeable scenes at the election of Mr. Jefferson hastened this alteration, and the like will hereafter be prevented.

Mr. Jefferson's presidency commenced at an auspicious season. He found a considerable sum in the treasury; the financial plans of the late administrations were productive; peace had been restored with France,—the army disbanded,—the navy mostly laid up; and for a while nothing occurred to require any extraordinary expenditures: Opportunity was presented of reducing the public debt, and the surplus revenue was accordingly applied to this purpose; and several millions have been discharged. However, it is seldom, or never, that we find a national debt fully paid off, taxes once imposed materially lightened, or that a national armament can be dispensed with. Even in the United States, and under the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, so fond of peace and economy, new taxes have been laid, new debts contracted, and an additional naval armament prepared.

In the year 1796, a treaty was entered into with the Bashaw of Tripoli, and money and presents given him, for which he engaged to be in perpetual peace with the United States. Regardless of his own stipulations, he soon afterwards required more money, and on being refused, commenced a predatory warfare. Congress, in February 1802, authorised the President to send a naval force against him, and to do such acts, as a state of war would justify. This petty war continued several years. A few frigates were sent against Tripoli; they blockaded the harbour, bombarded the town, destroyed and captured several vessels. The Philadelphia frigate, of forty-four guns, unfortunately ran aground on a hidden bank. None of the squadron being near to assist her, gun boats from Tripoli took possession of the vessel, and carried the crew into slavery. They afterwards got her off, and brought her into the harbour.

The Bashaw had now got an advantage, and it became necessary to send an additional force into the Mediterranean. Gun boats were built, and frigates equipped for this purpose. The courage and conduct of the Americans were honourably displayed in this war. Two instances shall be mentioned. Commodore Preble determined to destroy the Philadelphia frigate.—Some light vessels under the command of captain Decatur, were manned from the squadron ; they entered the harbour of Tripoli in the evening under a friendly flag, and immediately boarded the frigate ; though manned and under the batteries, they set her on fire, and she was entirely burnt. The assailants then retired, with little loss.—The other display of intrepidity was by Mr. Eaton. He had been empowered by the President to co-operate with Hamet Caramelli in reducing Tripoli. Hamet had been dethroned and banished by his brother, the reigning Bashaw. Mr. Eaton found him in Egypt. A small army was collected, and Mr. Eaton appointed general. They marched five hundred miles through the deserts of Lybia ; and reached Derne, a city in the regency of Tripoli. After a well fought battle, in April 1805, they took the city ; and planted the American standard on its walls. By this time, the American squadron was ready again to bombard the city of Tripoli ; but Mr. Lear, the consul-general, took the opportunity of the dismay of the Bashaw, and his fear of being dethroned by his brother, to conclude a treaty. The American prisoners were liberated, and 60,000 dollars were paid to the Bashaw, who again promised to be at perpetual peace. Commodore Preble and Gen. Eaton had the thanks of Congress, and applause of their country, for their gallant services.—To defray the expense of this warfare, an additional duty of two and a half per cent. was laid on certain goods imported.

The western vacant lands belonging to the United States, are immense sources of wealth. In 1796 Congress passed an act for surveying the lands north-west of the Ohio, and laying out townships of six miles square ; the lands to be sold for not less than two dol-

lars per acre, payable at certain periods. Purchasers immediately appeared, and settlements were made. In 1800, the territory westward of Pennsylvania was erected into a separate government. Population increased very rapidly, and in 1802, the people were authorised to form a constitution for themselves, and organise their government. In 1803, they were admitted into the union, by the name of the state of Ohio. This is the fourth state that has been erected since the year 1790. "The United States," says Mr. Jefferson, "are a rising nation, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye."

By the treaty with Spain, of 1795, the citizens of the United States were allowed a place of deposit for their merchandise at New Orleans. In 1801, the Spaniards refused the right of deposit. This flagrant breach of treaty was highly resented. It was particularly injurious to the inhabitants on the western waters; as New Orleans was the most convenient repository for the produce carried down the Ohio and Mississippi in boats, from whence it was shipped for a market.—War with Spain would have been the consequence of her persisting in excluding the Americans from New Orleans—But the difference terminated in an unexpected manner. The king of Spain transferred Louisiana to France, on condition of Bonaparte erecting Tuscany into a kingdom, and conferring it on one of his sons. This was done, and the country called Etruria. During a short peace with England, the French, in 1802, were preparing to take possession of Louisiana. Mr. Livingston, the minister of the United States at Paris, in a lengthy and ingenious memorial, presented to the French minister, shewed that such an extensive colony would be of no advantage to France, as she could neither improve nor people it; and proposed a negociation for a transfer of it to the United States. Bonaparte, it is probable, entered more readily into this measures, as the war with Britain was again about to commence, which would have prevented his taking possession of Louisiana, and exposed it to be captured by the British. On the 30th of April 1803, the treaty of transfer was sign-

ed. Fifteen millions of dollars were to be paid to Bonaparte, of which two millions five hundred thousand dollars were allowed to the American merchants for illegal captures. The treaty was ratified by the President, and the House of Representatives made the necessary appropriations for carrying it into effect. A stock was created for the purchase money, bearing interest. The principal is to be discharged by instalments; the first instalment to be paid in fifteen years after the date of the treaty.

Congress divided Louisiana into two districts: the lower is called New Orleans; the upper retains its former name. The laws of the United States are extended over the country: temporary governments are established under the directions of the President; and when the territory attains a suitable population, it will be divided into independent states, and admitted into the union.

Louisiana is an extensive and valuable country.—The purchase of it was a popular measure. Some, however, say, that having so much unsettled land already, it was needless to purchase more; and apprehend, that the addition of this large territory to a country of such vast extent as the United States, will be injurious; that it will be impossible to extend the energies of government throughout the whole; and at length the unwieldy bulk of the empire will cause it to fall to pieces. But as the most plausible theories fail in practice, so many schemes which theory deems impracticable, will succeed in the experiment. It is impossible to tell to what extent the federative principle may be carried. The internal and local affairs of the states being under the directions of their own legislatures, while their foreign and external concerns, are managed by the government of the union; the blessings of liberty and self government may be extended over a large and fair portion of the globe; the inhabitants being of one descent, of one language, and under one system of laws.—After all, it is but a short way that the most acute politician can see into futurity. Effects different from any foretold, may result from this large addition of territory to the United States.

The measures of Mr. Jefferson had been so popular, that he was almost unanimously re-elected President in 1804. George Clinton was chosen Vice-president in the room of Aaron Burr, who had lost the confidence of the people.

It was an error, in the purchase of Louisiana, not to have the general outlines of the colony, inserted in the treaty. Spain was averse to the transfer of the country to the United States. It was, in fact, done without her knowledge, and before she had actually delivered it to France. She at first protested against the transfer. The protest was withdrawn. But she manifested a hostile disposition. The king of Spain refused to ratify the treaty made under his eye at Madrid, in which he agreed to pay for illegal captures of American vessels; and after long negotiations about the boundaries of Louisiana, is for confining it to a strip of land to the westward of the Mississippi, and a very small part of West Florida. The claims of the United States extend to nearly the whole of West Florida, and westward to the heads of the rivers that run into the Mississippi.

At the opening of Congress in December, 1805, the President informed them of the existing state of things. —“ With Spain,” says he, “ our negotiations for a settlement of differences have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formally acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated, but on conditions affecting other claims in no wise connected with them : yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. Our commerce through the Mobile continued to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious researches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana have not been acceded to. Whilst, however, the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in new territories, in the hope that the other power would not by a contrary conduct oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may

not be easily controlled. But in this hope we have no reason to lessen our confidence. Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and Mississippi. Our citizens have been seized, and their property plundered in the very parts of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary, at length, to give orders to our troops on that frontier to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future."

Shortly after the opening of Congress, the President sent them a confidential message, on which they sat a considerable time with closed doors. It afterwards appeared that it had been determined to appropriate two millions of dollars for the purchase of the Floridas. This measure caused warm debate in the House : and some of the late friends of the executive voted with his former opponents against the measure. After the insulting and hostile conduct of Spain, as communicated in the President's message, they deemed it degrading to the United States to settle the dispute in the way of another purchase.—The measure, however, was carried, and the two and a half per cent duties laid for the support of the Tripolitan war were continued with a view to meet the expenses of the treaty.

The President also mentioned in his message to Congress, that piratical acts had been "committed at the very mouths of our harbours, by private armed vessels, some without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal forms, but transcending the authority of those commissions, plundering and sinking our vessels, and exposing the crews in open boats, or on desert shores." These privateers were principally French or Spanish. They had been fitted out from the Spanish island of Cuba, and insulted the southern harbours of the United States.

The port of New York was frequently watched by British vessels of war, who captured vessels going into the harbour; and in April 1806, fired on a coasting vessel, and killed a man on board, within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The blame of these insulting and piratical acts ought in some degree to rest on the government of the United States. There was, for a while, not a single armed vessel in readiness to protect the coast. When Mr. Pierce was killed by a shot from the British vessel, the President, agreeable to an act of Congress, issued a proclamation forbidding any succour to be given to said vessel for the future, in any harbour of the United States ; and ordered the captain to be apprehended for trial. This was a very feeble mode of defence, and appeared to some contemptible.—While millions were voted to purchase lands of no present utility, some of the capital cities, the source of immediate revenue, were in a great degree defenceless, and lay open to the enterprise of any bold invader. Nations, as well as individuals, are liable, at times, to infatuation of conduct.

The commercial part of the treaty with Britain, of 1794, had expired by its own limitation. Neither nation had made propositions for a new treaty. But the trade of the United States was again interrupted by the British. They captured vessels laden with the produce of the French and Spanish colonies ; and contended, that by the law of nations, none had a right to carry on a trade to colonies in time of war, which they were not allowed during peace ; and that great part of the produce was enemies' property covered by a neutral flag. The Americans insisted, that in peace or war, they had a right to trade to any colony opened to them by the parent country ; that the produce was purchased by their own capital, landed in the United States, the duties paid, or secured to the government ; and, as American property, might lawfully be exported to any country in the world, without interruption by the belligerent powers.

Congress were called upon by the President to make an effectual opposition to the conduct of the British concerning neutral commerce. It was once proposed to suspend all commercial intercourse with that nation ; but though this would have distressed Britain, it would also have injured the United States, as a great part of the revenue arose from duties on British goods. A law however passed, prohibiting after the 15th of Novem-

ber, 1806, the importation of certain articles of British manufacture. This law was opposed by the same persons who voted against the purchase of the Floridas. It appeared improper to them to take such measures against Britain, while negotiations were actually pending with her; and sit tamely under the insults of Spain, who had invaded our territory, and rejected every overture of accommodation. The law however passed by a large majority, who contended they had a right to regulate trade in any manner that appeared to be advantageous to the United States.

To terminate the differences amicably, and to come to a right understanding on the disputed points in the law of nations, and the rights of neutral commerce, the President sent Mr. Pinckney as envoy extraordinary to London, to assist Mr. Monroe in negotiating a treaty with the British courts; and to show the pacific intentions of the government, and to promote a speedy reconciliation, the non-importation law, at the recommendation of the President, in December 1806, was suspended by Congress.

The President, in his message to Congress, December 2, 1806, says, "What will be the issue of the negotiations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which has taken place at the date of the last despatches, enables us to pronounce. On the western side of the Mississippi, she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayou Pierre, on the Red River. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana: being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed, at the moment of re-delivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made, by our commander in chief, to assume the Sabine river as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negotiations shall be known, this has been referred, by the Spanish commandant, to his superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the western side of the Sabine river.

“ In order that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorised him to call on the governors of Orleans and Mississippi, for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangement he proposed may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously under all circumstances which may occur.”

Shortly after the purchase of Louisiana, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, with a party of men, were sent by the President to explore the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific ocean. They ascended the Missouri, crossed tremendous mountains one hundred and forty miles broad, part of which are continually covered with snow ; then descended the Columbia river to the Pacific ocean ; and returned in 1806, after a very fatiguing journey. They ascertained the geography of that interesting communication across the continent, the commerce of the country, and the character of its inhabitants. The distance from the mouth of the Missouri to the Pacific ocean is 3555 miles.

In 1806, a number of private individuals combined together for a very hostile purpose. A flotilla was preparing on the Ohio, and large offers made for persons to engage in the enterprise. The plan was to attack and seize the city of New Orleans and its dependencies, the money in the bank and treasury, the military stores, and a fine park of French brass artillery, to erect a government independent of the United States under the direction of a foreign European power, and to allow the people of the western country to secede from the union. But the President ordered the vessels and arms provided for the purpose, to be seized, and the persons engaged in the enterprise to be arrested.

At the head of this combination was Aaron Burr.

late Vice-president of the United States. He was a man of abilities, vast ambition, but in desperate circumstances. He had lost his election for Vice-president; and was disappointed in his hopes of being chosen governor of New-York. General Hamilton, late secretary of the treasury, having opposed his elevation to this last office, he challenged him to a duel. Gen. Hamilton was mortally wounded. To avoid the punishment of the law, Mr. Burr fled from New York, went to the westward; and was proceeding to put his ambitious projects into execution. The vigilance of the government defeated his intent. He was arrested, brought to Richmond in Virginia, and indicted for high treason. The trial was long, and very ably conducted, both in the accusation and defence. He was acquitted; and soon after sailed for Europe. On his acquittal the persons implicated with him were discharged.

It is to the honour of the United States, that the executive was able, without an organised force, so promptly to frustrate this daring conspiracy. It justifies the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson that "this government is the strongest on earth, where every citizen, at the call of the law, would flee to the defence of his country."

The President having noticed in his message to Congress, December 2d, 1806, the unsettled state of our external relations, represents the necessity of fortifying some commanding position on the Mississippi below New Orleans; of raising new works, and repairing those already erected, for the defence of the sea-port towns; and of building an additional number of gun-boats for their farther security. Congress entered on the consideration of these matters; and strongly fortified New York, Charleston, and New Orleans, the ports most defenceless, and most exposed to an attack.

A treaty was concluded by the American minister, at London, in 1807. But as this treaty contained no adequate provisions against the impressment of American seamen by the British, President Jefferson refused

to ratify it, and did not even lay it before the Senate for their advice. In the time of negotiating this treaty, Bonaparte, in November, 1806, issued a decree from Milan, declaring the British isles in a state of blockade, and declaring all merchandise coming from England or her colonies to be good prize. This was done in retaliation of orders of the British government, declaring certain parts of the coast of France to be blockaded, and forbidding neutral vessels to enter the harbours. To execute these orders, the British had a fleet to station near the forbidden ports, though not sufficient to constitute a real and efficient blockade. Bonaparte could not place a single vessel of war before any British port.

After the signature of the treaty by the British and American plenipotentiaries, intelligence was received of the Berlin decree. The American minister was informed that the British government expected the United States would resist that decree ; or if they did not, they reserved the right to adopt measures of retaliation against France, notwithstanding the treaty last concluded.

The treaty between France and America was at this time in force, which secured to the United States a free trade. Inquiry was made at the French government, if the Berlin decree was to interfere with the treaty. An evasive answer was given ; the treaty and the decree, it was said, could be easily reconciled. But there was a collision in practice. American ships were captured and condemned for a breach of ideal blockade, and for having English merchandise on board. Vessels were also burnt on the high seas, at the will of the commanders of French armed vessels.

In January and November, 1807, in order to retaliate for the Berlin decree, the British privy councils issued orders, declaring that neutrals were not to trade with France, or any country where the British flag was excluded, unless they first entered a British port, and paid a certain duty on their goods ; otherwise they would be liable to capture.

Bonaparte, in prosecuting this commercial warfare, is-

sued another decree at Milan, in December 1807, declaring all vessels sailing towards England, or spoken by a British vessel, or coming from a British port, to be good prize.

Both France and Britain acknowledged that their interruption of neutral commerce was contrary to the law of nations : But each justified itself on the ground of retaliation ; and of neutrals not resisting the decrees of the other.

The United States was, in fact the only neutral nation : These decrees and orders deeply affected her commerce, and put a vast amount of property in jeopardy.

The American government always remonstrated against the general blockades of the British, and against their orders in council, as well as against the French decrees. A correspondence almost endless has been carried on with both governments, on their illegal and injurious proceedings. But nations that “ feel power forget right,” and it is something else than argument that will bring them to a sense of justice. Both France and Britain are jealous of the rising greatness of the United States, and of their commercial prosperity. This jealousy, as well as their enmity to each other, caused the continuance of their hostile decrees and orders.

Toward the close of 1807, and before intelligence of the orders in council arrived, President Jefferson sent a confidential message to Congress, stating the necessity of taking measures to save American property from capture : and recommended laying an embargo on vessels bound to foreign ports. Congress with closed doors, immediately enacted a law, prohibiting commercial intercourses with foreign nations. Several supplements were, during the session, added to this law, extending its operation, and strengthening its penalties. The embargo was intended, not only as a precaution for the safety of property, but as a measure of coercion ; to force the belligerents to repeal their decrees and orders. Vessels were repeatedly despatched during the embargo to both France and Britain, offering to raise it with regard

to either or both, on condition of their rescinding their edicts against neutral commerce. But after continuing the experiment for eighteen months it was found to have no effect whatever on the belligerents. It was a commercial warfare in which victory was contended for as eagerly as in the field of battle.

In the United States the embargo met with strong opposition. The suddenness of the measure instantly embarrassed the mercantile part of the community, and seriously affected all the mechanics whose employments were connected with shipping. The produce of the country fell in value ; smuggling was carried on to a great extent. The revenue diminished ; and the treasury of the United States became empty.—The New England States, that commercial and enterprising part of the union, particularly suffered : and the unlimited term of the embargo alarmed them. Strong measures, threatening serious consequences, were resorted to. The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut openly opposed the embargo ; and the governor of the latter refused his aid to carry it into effect.

The embargo law was repealed in March, 1809. Allowing it to have been a wise measure, it was impossible to carry it into complete effect. The vast extent of sea coast, and extended frontier of the United States, presented many ways of evading the law. The habits of a great part of the community were commercial ; and the arbitrary measures authorised by some of the supplements were contrary to the free spirit of the American people. Legislators should not only consider what is politically right, but the manner it can be accomplished ; lest they needlessly excite a spirit of disobedience, and bring the laws into contempt.

During the administration of Washington and Adams, the policy and necessity of creating a naval force was recommended by these gentlemen, and frequently agitated in Congress. Every motion on this subject was strenuously opposed. A navy it was said, would increase the public burdens, prevent the extinguishment of the debt, and extend executive patronage. That measures of defence should be restricted to commercial regulations, and withdrawing our vessels from the ocean. It

was argued on the other side, that the habits of a great part of the people were commercial; that it would be impossible to change these habits; that a naval defence would be most economical, and that it was most effectual, both for the protection of commerce, and for the defence of the coast. A number of frigates and smaller vessels were equipped; and six seventy four gun ships were ordered to be built. On the accession of Mr. Jefferson, those opposed to a navy got the ascendancy, and the equipment of larger vessels was neglected. He proposed to build gun boats. Congress adopted this plan, and a hundred small vessels were equipped. They were sloop rigged, and carried a large gun. The favourers of large vessels opposed this armament, as inadequate for any efficient purpose, or on a large scale. But the opposition to a navy was so powerful, that nothing effectual has hitherto been accomplished.

In June 1807, another cause of irritation was added to those already subsisting against the British government. Some deserters were said to have been engaged on board the United States frigate Chesapeake. Admiral Berkeley, on the Halifax station, sent a vessel of superior force to reclaim those men; and if they were refused, to attack the Chesapeake. This frigate had just set sail on a voyage to the Mediterranean, when she was attacked by the British vessel near the capes of Virginia. Not being prepared for action, she struck her colours after having a number of her men killed and wounded. A British officer came on board, and seized several of the men, some of whom were American citizens. This outrage against all public law was highly resented in the United States. The President immediately issued a proclamation, prohibiting British vessels of war coming into the waters or harbours of the United States; and forbidding the inhabitants to give them any assistance or succour; excepting from this order, packets carrying letters, or vessels in distress.

The king of Britain immediately disavowed the proceedings of his admiral; and sent a special minister to offer reparation for the injury. The mission failed of success. Mr. Rose insisting that the President should

recall his prohibitory proclamation, before the terms were signed. The president refused this ; but was willing that both acts should bear equal date. This affair lay unadjusted till November 1811, when Mr. Foster, a new British minister, offered terms of reparation that were accepted by the president. They were, 1. A disavowal of admiral Berkeley's conduct. 2. The restoration of the men taken from the Chesapeake. 3. A suitable pecuniary provision for the sufferers, including the families of those who fell in the action.

SECT. II.—*From 1807 to 1813.*

President MADISON.

MR. JEFFERSON, after the second term of his Presidency expired, declined a re-election. James Madison, secretary of State, was elected President of the United States. George Clinton was elected a second time Vice-president. On the 4th of March, 1809, Mr. Madison was installed into that high office. In his address on the occasion he says, “ Under the various circumstances, which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel that both the honour and the responsibility allotted to me are inexpressibly enhanced.

“ The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel ; and that of our own country full of difficulties. The pressure of those too, is the more severely felt, because they have fallen upon us at a moment when the national prosperity, being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from the change, has been rendered the more striking. Under the benign influence of our institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nation, whilst so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed, in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources.

“ It is a precious reflection that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country, to the scene which has for some time been distressing us, is not charge-

able, on any warrantable views, nor as I trust, on any voluntary errors, in the public councils. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights, or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace, by observing justice ; and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war, by fulfilling their neutral obligations with the most scrupulous impartiality.

“ This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law.”

When the general embargo was raised, a law was enacted prohibiting any intercourse with Britain or France, and prohibiting the armed vessels of these nations to enter the American waters, except with public despatches, or in distress. In this law the President was empowered, in case of either of the nations rescinding their unjust edicts, to restore the commercial intercourse with such nation. Soon after passing this law, April 17, 1809, the British minister, Mr. Erskine, in a note to Mr. Smith, the American secretary, stated, that as by said act both belligerents were placed in a state of equality, he had been instructed, in such an event, to declare that after the 10th of June the orders in council would be withdrawn. In consequence of this assurance, President Madison did, on the same day, issue his proclamation, that the trade with Britain might be renewed on the 10th day of June, 1809.

But this flattering appearance of reconciliation was soon dissipated. The British government disavowed the arrangements made by their minister, and recalled him, for acting contrary to his orders. The president, in consequence, by proclamation on the 9th of August 1809, renewed the non-intercourse law against Britain. Both governments, however, allowed the merchants to finish the engagements they had entered into on the faith of the agreement.

Mr. Jackson was sent from Britain to replace Mr.

Erskine. But soon after his arrival, in his intercourse with Mr. Smith, the American secretary, he repeatedly insisted, after assurances to the contrary, that the American government, in their agreement with Mr. Erskine, knew that he had exceeded his instructions. This was so offensive, that the President refused any farther intercourse with him, and ordered him to depart from the seat of government.

President Madison, after noticing these events, in his message to Congress in November, 1809, proceeds to observe,

“With France, the other belligerent, whose trespasses on our commercial rights have long been the subjects of our just remonstrances, the posture of our relations does not correspond with the measures taken on the part of the United States, to effect a favourable change.

“By some of the other belligerents, although professing just and amicable dispositions, injuries materially affecting our commerce have not been duly controlled or repressed. But it will deserve the consideration of the Legislature, how far both the safety and the honour of the American flag may be consulted, by adequate provisions against that collusive prostitution of it, by individuals, unworthy of the American name, which has so much favoured the real or pretended suspicions, under which the honest commerce of their fellow citizens has suffered.

“In the midst of the wrongs and vexations experienced from external causes, there is much room for congratulations on the prosperity and happiness flowing from our situation at home. The face of our country every where presents the evidence of laudable enterprise, of extensive capital, and of durable improvement. In a cultivation of the materials, and the extension of useful manufactures, more especially, in the general applications to household fabrics, we behold a rapid diminution of our dependence on foreign supplies. Nor is it unworthy of reflection, that this revolution in pursuits and habits, is in no slight degree a consequence of those impolitic and arbitrary edicts, by which the contending nations, in endeavouring each of them to obstruct our trade with the other, have so far abridged our means of procuring the pro-

ductions and manufactures, of which our own are now taking the place."

The non-intercourse law did not extend to any country nominally independent ; but a large portion of Europe was under the controul of Bonaparte. He had made one of his brothers king of Holland. He had annexed great part of Italy to his empire ; and governed it by a viceroy. By a series of intrigue, he had introduced a considerable army into Spain. He induced the king of that country to resign his dominions to him. He afterwards made the royal family prisoners ; and placed on the throne another of his brothers. The people of Spain rose against their invaders ; and a very bloody and destructive war has for several years raged in that country.

The policy of the French emperor is to exclude the manufactures and produce of Britain and her colonies from the countries under his influence ; hoping thereby to exhaust the resources of Britain for carrying on the war, and so destroy her naval power. This he calls the continental system ; and justifies his conduct under the pretence that he is thereby contending for the freedom of the seas ; or the principle, that free ships make free goods.

The merchants of the United States had made large shipments to various ports on raising the embargo. Bonaparte professed to be pleased with that system ; but displeased with the non-intercourse law. In March 1809, he issued a decree at Rambouillet, confiscating all the American property that had arrived in ports under his dominion or influence, to the amount of twenty millions of dollars. When this rapacious conduct was remonstrated against by the American government, he justified himself by alleging the non-intercourse law authorised the confiscation of goods brought into the United States. It was a reprisal, he said ; and the law of reprisals must govern. But this was a mere subterfuge ; in the one case, a law was enacted, and notice given : In the other the vessels were seized without notice, and without law, and in ports to which the non-intercourse did not extend. Restitution is still denied for these enormous and unjust seizures.

The negotiations with Spain were entirely interrupted by the revolution in that kingdom. The Floridas became destitute of an efficient government; and the people were in danger of falling into a state of anarchy, or the country of being seized by a foreign power, to the great injury of the United States. To prevent any of these events, the President, in October, 1810, ordered governor Claiborne, of New-Orleans, to take possession of West Florida, as part of Louisiana: Afterwards East Florida was occupied, to be held in pledge till the demands of the United States against Spain for illegal captures, and for her denial of the right of deposit at New-Orleans were adjusted. The Floridas are valuable, chiefly on account of the direct communication afforded to a considerable part of the Southern States by the river Mobile to the gulph of Mexico. This was an energetic, as well as a wise measure. No force was used on the occasion. The places occupied by any Spanish force was still allowed to remain in their possession.-- The minister of Britain at Washington remonstrated against occupying the Floridas. The causes of it were explained, and it was added, that the subject still lay open to negociation, whenever Spain attained a settled government.

In 1809, a period was put to a controversy between the United States and Pennsylvania that had lasted for thirty years, and threatened very serious consequences. The British sloop *Active*, bound from Jamaica to New York, was seized by Gideon Olmstead and three other persons on board. An armed vessel of Pennsylvania came up with her in sight of Egg Harbour, and conducted her into the Delaware. The vessel was condemned in the admiralty court of Pennsylvania; and the proceeds divided between the captors on board and the crew of the armed vessel. Gideon Olmstead, and his associates, appealed from this decree, to a committee of Congress, who acted as a Court on maritime affairs. They reversed the decree of the state court; and adjudged the whole proceeds to the appellants. The legality of the decree was questioned by the Pennsylvania judge, on the plea that the decree, being founded

on the verdict of a jury, could not be reversed. The money was brought into the court, and delivered to Mr. Rittenhouse, the treasurer of the state, to be held by him till the matter was finally settled. On the death of Mr. Rittenhouse, the money came into the hands of his executrixes, his daughters. After much litigation, the district judge of Pennsylvania, of the United States court, issued a decree that the money should be paid to Olmstead : The legislature of Pennsylvania then ordered the executrixes to pay the money into the state treasury ; and gave them indemnification, in case process should issue out of the federal courts against them. An order issued from the supreme court of the United States in 1809, to attach the executrixes. To defend them, the governor of Pennsylvania ordered out a portion of the militia, and placed them as a guard at the house where the ladies lived. The marshal of the United States court, when he was entering to serve the writ, was resisted by the militia. He called out the posse comitatus to assist him ; but previous to their assembling, he eluded the vigilance of the guard, and arrested one of the executrixes. A habeus corpus was taken out in her name, and tried before the chief justice of Pennsylvania ; who ordered that she should remain in custody of the marshal. The governor of Pennsylvania then ordered the money to be paid to Olmstead ; and the executrix was liberated. General Bright, who had commanded the guard, and eight of his men, were arrested by the marshal, and tried before the circuit court of the United States. They were fined and imprisoned, for resisting the process of the court. After a few days confinement, the President of the United States, considering the law fully satisfied, liberated them, and remitted their fine. Thus an important point between conflicting jurisdictions was settled ; and military force yielded to the superiority of the law.

In 1810, another important cause was decided in the supreme court of the United States. The legislature of Georgia, in 1799, had sold a large tract of land on their western waters to certain individuals. A future

legislature declared this sale to be void ; and razed the proceedings from their journals. The original purchasers had in the mean time sold parcels of this land to others. An action was brought to eject some of those purchasers, because the legislature had no right to sell these lands, and a future legislature had declared the sale to be void. The supreme court were unanimously of opinion that the sale was valid ; and that no future legislature had a right to annul the contract. Such a proceeding would be a stretch of power, and not an act of justice. Far less could they affect the right of a third person who had purchased without notice of a defective title. Besides, the constitution of the United States, had forbidden any state to pass an *ex post facto* law, or a law impairing the obligation of contracts. This cause had excited considerable interest throughout the union. The confirming the title of the purchaser settled a very important question of national jurisprudence.

The non-intercourse law expired by its own limitation in May, 1810. At this time our trade was unrestricted by any law of the United States.—But Congress, in the same month, passed an act, by which the President was authorised, in the event of either France or England repealing her unjust acts, or so modifying the same, that they would no longer affect our neutral rights, to impose certain sections of the non-intercourse law on the nation refusing to do us justice, which sections amounted to a non-importation. This act was made know to both nations ; and France, embracing the proposition, did by the letter of her prime minister, the Duke of Cadore, under date of 5th August, 1810, promise to revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees, so far as they related to the United States, on a condition ; with which condition the President complied, by issuing his proclamation of the first November, in which, agreeable to the act of May, 1808, he declared that all importations from Great Britain and her possessions should cease on the 2d February, 1811, unless that nation should previously thereto repeal or modify her orders in council. Great Britain refused to do this, and pertinaciously

adhered to a system equally injurious to the interests of both nations.

As the British government always professed a readiness to repeal their orders in council when France withdrew their decrees, the President urged a performance of this act of justice. But it has been hitherto avoided : first, on a pretence that the decrees were not repealed ; and then that they were rescinded, not universally, but only with respect to America. The answer to this was, that the United States had no right to interfere with the commercial policy of the French emperor, farther than his decrees affected their neutral rights. He having withdrawn his edicts as to them, their trade was opened to him.

The President, in his message to Congress, December 5th, 1810, after noticing the repeal of the decrees, adds,

“ The commerce of the United States with the North of Europe, heretofore much vexed by licentious cruizers, particularly under the Danish flag, has latterly been visited with fresh and extensive depredations. The measure pursued in behalf of our injured citizens not having obtained justice for them, a further and more formal interposition with the Danish government is contemplated. The principles which have been maintained by that government in relation to neutral commerce, and the friendly profession of his Danish Majesty towards the United States, are valuable pledges in favour of a successful issue.”

The reasons assigned by the Danes for their captures, were, the American ships putting themselves under British convoy ; and their covering enemies' goods by their flag. At the same time, the utmost good will to the fair and legal commerce of the United States, was professed by the northern courts. The trade to Russia is becoming immensely valuable. The sovereign of that country is at present friendly to neutral rights. A mission to Russia from the United States has been productive of the most beneficial effects.

The charter of the United States Bank expired on the 3d of March, 1810. Application was made to Con-

gress for a renewal of it. Long debates took place on this business. It was urged against it, that congress had no power to grant charters to operate in the different states ; and if they had the power, the present institution was injurious to the public welfare, as it was prostituted to party purposes, and introduced into the country a foreign influence, great part of the stock being owned abroad. It was argued on the other side, that the bank had been in operation for twenty years, and that its constitutionality had been recognised by all the branches of government ; that it had promoted the general prosperity ; and been useful in aiding the fiscal operations of the government. The motion for a renewal of the charter was rejected by a majority of one in each house of Congress.

The territory of New Orleans having attained a suitable population, Congress, in 1811, passed an act erecting it into a state ; and authorising the inhabitants to choose a convention, and give the state a name. The convention met, formed a constitution, and named the state Louisiana. It was admitted into the union in 1812. This is the eighteenth state.

The impressment of American seamen has been a continual source of irritation against Britain, and repeated complaints have been made of it. The British minister always denied any intention to impress American seamen ; but claimed a right to take their own subjects wherever they could find them. The merchant vessels of the United States were frequently visited by British cruisers ; and as it was not easy to distinguish between the two nations, Americans were frequently forced on board of their vessels of war. What added to this insult was, that this conduct was pursued along the shores of the United States, and on coasting vessels. In the spring of 1811, the armed ships of the United States were ordered to cruise on the coasts for the protection of the commerce, and to inquire into the character of the armed vessels that might be hovering on their shores. In May, commodore Rodgers, in the frigate *President* of forty-four guns,

descried a strange sail. He gave chase, came up to her at night, and inquired her name. The same question was returned by the strange sail ; and reiterated from the President. A shot was then fired at the President, who returned another. Several broadsides followed. In a few minutes the firing ceased. Next morning the vessels were in sight, and commodore Rodgers sent his boat on board the other vessel, which was found to be the British sloop of war *Little Belt*. She had thirty two men killed and wounded ; and was much damaged. She returned to Halifax to refit. Commodore Rodgers solicited a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. He was honourably acquitted.

In August, 1811, Mr Barlow, minister plenipotentiary, sailed for France, and arrived at Paris in September. He was instructed to negotiate a commercial treaty on terms of reciprocity ; to claim the restoration of vessels illegally seized : and demand indemnity for such as were destroyed.

After the intercourse with France was permitted, a number of American vessels sailed for that country, or to places under her controul. The British cruisers intercepted a great number, and carried them into England. They were tried and condemned, for a breach of the orders in council. It was urged in court, that the French decrees were repealed, and consequently the British orders ought to cease. The judge, Sir William Scott, held that the decrees were in force, as he had not been notified of their repeal by his government. A vast loss of property was again sustained by the American merchants.

It is evident indeed that the decrees of Bonaparte, were not annulled in a manner equally public, as they were enacted. Much vexation has the commerce of the United States suffered by French cruisers, and in the ports of France since it was announced they were repealed. Even the burning of ships at sea continued. "No outrage of the belligerents (says Mr. Barlow to the French minister) is more vexatious, and reprehensible than this."

Since the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne in 1794, and the subsequent treaty of Greenville, they had in general continued quiet. Though under the pressure of a defeat, the Indians may yield up their lands, yet they are always uneasy at the approach of the white people, and on being circumscribed in their hunting ground. The tribes near the river Wabash, had given evidence of hostility. One of their chiefs pretended to be a prophet, and warned them, in the name of the Great Spirit, to unite for the defence of their lands; not to imitate the white people in their manner of living, but follow the customs of their ancestors. Ambitious views were, no doubt, couched under his fanatical pretence. He gained a considerable number of followers. It became necessary to have a force ready to oppose them. Governor Harrison, of the Indiana territory, collected about eight hundred men, and marched towards the prophet's town. On the 7th of November, 1811, Harrison was surprised and attacked in his encampment, early in the morning. A very severe action ensued. The Indians were defeated; and their town was burned. They dispersed; and the American army returned to Vincennes; having lost, in killed and wounded, near two hundred men.

President Madison called Congress together before the time of their adjournment. They met on the 4th of November, 1811. Next day he sent them a message, recommending energetic measures in defence of the rights of the United States. He says,

“At the close of the last session of Congress, it was hoped that the successive confirmations of the extinction of the French decrees, so far as they violated our neutral commerce, would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council; and thereby authorise a removal of the existing obstructions to her commerce with the United States.

“Instead of this reasonable step towards satisfaction and friendship between the two nations, the orders were, at a moment when least to have been expected, put into more rigorous execution.

“The justice and fairness which have been evinced on

the part of the United States towards France, both before and since the revocation of her decrees, authorised an expectation that her government would have followed up that measure by all such others as were due to our reasonable claims, as well as dictated by its amicable professions. No proof, however, is yet given of an intention to repair the other wrongs done to the United States ; and particularly to restore the great amount of American property seized and condemned under edicts, which, though not affecting our neutral relations, and, therefore, not entering into questions between the United States and other belligerents, were nevertheless founded in such unjust principles, that the reparation ought to have been prompt and ample.

“ In addition to this, and other demands of strict right, on that nation, the United States had much reason to be dissatisfied with the rigorous and unexpected restrictions, to which their trade with the French dominions has been subjected ; and which, if not discontinued, will require at least corresponding restrictions on importations from France into the United States.

“ The British cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs so long and so loudly calling for it ; but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character, as well as the effect, of war on our lawful commerce.

“ With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, intrampling on rights which no Independent Nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.”

The Committee of Foreign relations, to whom the President's message was referred, in a few days brought in a report on the subject of the exterior relations of the United States. They recommended that Congress should raise an army of twenty-five thousand men, in addition to the ten thousand already enlisted ; that the President should be authorised to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers : and that an hundred thousand

militia be drafted to be in readiness at his call. These measures were professedly avowed as preparatory to war with Britain. A law was passed to raise the proposed army. To meet the expense, duties on imported goods were doubled; and internal taxes were proposed to be laid on land, distilled spirits, loaf sugar, carriages, retailers of goods, and by stamps. A loan for eleven millions of dollars was authorised; and treasury notes, bearing interest, were ordered to be issued to the amount of five millions of dollars.

A motion was also made in Congress to increase the naval armament. But this, as in all former instances, was negatived. The President was, however, directed to equip the vessels that were built. These, in the whole, amounted to twelve frigates and about twelve smaller vessels.

During this session, the President communicated to Congress, papers and letters of a certain John Henry. This man had been an agent or spy of the British government; and authorised by sir James Craig, governor of Canada, to foment divisions of the union, whilst uneasiness existed in the eastern States, during the embargo. Not being remunerated by them according to his expectations, he disclosed his business to Mr. Madison. Fifty thousand dollars, it was said, were allowed him as a reward for his communications; and he was sent in a public vessel to France.

On the 4th of April, 1812, at the recommendation of the President, an embargo was laid for ninety days on all vessels in the harbours of the United States; except that foreign vessels might depart with whatever cargo they had on board, at the passing of the act. This measure was intended to secure the property in ports in case of war; and as preparatory to that event.

Earthquakes were felt in several places of the United States in 1811 and 1812, without doing any material damage. But in the province of Venezuela, in South America, a most tremendous earthquake destroyed the city of Carracas, and several other places. It is to the

honour of Congress, that during the embargo, they despatched vessels with provisions gratis to that province, to the amount of 50,000 dollars.

The United States sloop of war the *Hornet*, had been ordered to France and England about the close of 1811. Her return was waited for with considerable anxiety, as on the complexion of the despatches by her, Congress would ultimately decide on peace or war. She arrived in May, 1812.—The British government showed no disposition to recede from their orders in council. They adhered to them not only in retaliation against France, but in a hostile spirit of commercial rivalry with the United States. Mr. Barlow had been received at the court of France with distinction. But after six months negotiation, had not been able to conclude a commercial treaty; nor to obtain any satisfaction for the spoliations on American commerce. The business however continued in a train of discussion.

The President of the United States, now judged that matters had come to a crisis. On the first of June, 1812, he sent a message to Congress, recapitulating the injuries from Britain, and recommended decisive measures against that nation. This message was committed to the committee of foreign relations. They brought in a report, echoing the message, and recommended an appeal to arms. The House of Representatives took the message and report into consideration with closed doors: and passed an act declaring war against the United kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and their dependencies. This act was sent to the Senate for their concurrence, where, after considerable debate, also in secret session, it passed; and was signed by the President on the 18th of June, 1812.

In the House of Representatives seventy-nine were for war, and forty-nine against it. In the Senate, the votes were nineteen against thirteen. The act passed the House, on the 5th of June, but the Senate debated on it till the 18th of that month. Various amendments and substitutes were offered. One was to confine hostilities to sea. Another to include France in the act,

if by a certain day she did not give satisfactory evidence of ceasing to violate the neutral commerce of the United States. A third amendment was, to authorise public and private vessels to capture the armed vessels both of Britain and France, which might be found obstructing the lawful commerce of the United States. On the first amendment, the votes were equal ; and the question was lost. The other two were negatived, eighteen against fourteen, and the bill passed nearly as it was sent up from the House of Representatives.

It is universally agreed that both Britain and France have, for a series of years, greatly injured the United States, and have given ample cause for hostilities.— War would have been declared against one or the other a considerable time before, could the United States have selected their enemy. France having made some concessions, and Britain persisting in her injurious conduct, turned the scale. The President, in his message, declined mentioning the injuries of France, on account of the negotiations that were carrying on. But the committee of foreign regulations declared that the United States would not fail to seek reparation for the injuries sustained from that power.

The chief reasons of war with Britain, as stated in the President's message, are :—Impressment of American seamen—British cruisers violating the peace of our coasts—Pretended blockades of the enemy's coast, without an adequate force---and, the orders in council, whereby our commerce with her enemies is entirely prohibited, and a vast amount of property captured while on its way to their ports.

Among the people, as well as in Congress, considerable division existed about the propriety and necessity of the war against England. The opposers of war and commercial restrictions argue that France is not behind in the career of injustice. If she has done less harm at sea, it is because her means are inferior to those of her rival. She blockaded the whole British empire, without a single vessel on the ocean. By her decrees an immense property has been confiscated in her ports ; and her desolating policy has been felt wherever her influence ex-

tended, as Spain, Italy, and Holland obeyed her unjust mandates, and seized our ships. They farther argue, that a rich field of commercial enterprise was open to the United States, notwithstanding the decrees and orders of the belligerents. The preparation for war was very inadequate, while a great proportion of our shipping was at the mercy of the British. The trade to France, under her restrictions and regulations, was not worth pursuing : and that every consideration of duty concurred in warning the United States not to intermeddle in the present unexampled, hopeless, and apparently interminable European contest.

Several states are opposed to embargo and war.—The eastern states depend more on commerce than agriculture, and are particularly averse to measures that restrict their enterprise. The governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to put their militia under the United States, when requested by President Madison—New York and New Jersey changed their representatives, choosing those who are opposed to commercial restrictions and war. Delaware is on the same side : and Maryland is divided. Pennsylvania, and the states to the Southward, and Westward, are generally in favour of the measures of the general government.

By those in favour of the war it was urged, That the United States had endeavoured to cultivate friendship with both belligerents, by a strict neutrality ; that they had borne with equal indulgence, and unexampled patience, injuries from both parties ; that the embargo, non-intercourse, and non-importation acts, were peaceful measures, in order to induce the belligerents to respect our rights : that France having accepted the alternative proposed in the last mentioned act, trade was opened with her. Britain, continuing her injurious acts, both as to the orders in council, and the impressment of seamen, whereby our national and neutral rights were destroyed, and the country placed in the situation of colonies—war with that nation became unavoidable, and is radically a contest for the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

Immediately after the declaration of war, the President transmitted to the British ministry, the terms on which he would immediately consent to an armistice, and conclude a treaty of peace. These were what the government of the United States had always insisted on ;—a repeal of the orders in council, a relinquishment of illegal blockades, and forbearing the impressment of American seamen, and as the British professed they only wanted their own subjects, he gave assurance that the United States would prohibit the employment of their seamen. This was a candid and honourable proceeding, and required nothing but what the British court ought, in justice, to have immediately granted. But it is remarkable, that in two or three days after the declaration of war, by the United States, the orders in council were repealed. This was done on account of an official declaration by the emperor of France, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were no longer in force. One great cause of war was thereby removed, and the ground of controversy between the two nations is now greatly narrowed.

But though France and England seem bent on the destruction of each other, they are both jealous of the rising greatness of the United States. While they prohibit neutral commerce, they carry on a vast trade with each other, by means of licenses. France, for more than a year after the repeal of her decrees, refused to announce the fact officially. She delays to make any compensation for her unjust seizures of property, or enter into commercial arrangements with the United States. Britain at length avowed her orders in council to be a measure of commercial rivalry with America : and they in fact operated as a monopoly, by which that nation engrossed the trade of the world. But this avarice punished itself. The commerce of Britain declined, and many of her manufactures were ruined, by the operation of the non importation law.

The United States have suffered great injury by the unjust conduct of the belligerents, but it will ultimately be advantageous. Their attention has been turned to their own resources, and they are rapidly be-

coming a manufacturing nation. Having abundance of raw materials, they will in a short time, for the most essential articles, be independent of the world.

The war on land has hitherto been disadvantageous to the United States. Mickillimakinak, with the territory of Michigan, fell into the hands of the British. General Hull, who invaded Canada, August 1, 1812, was captured with his whole army ; and Gen. Van Ransellear, who attacked Queenstown, and gained the place, was immediately attacked by a British force, and defeated with considerable loss. The attack on Canada was begun without suitable preparation : and the campaign wasted with disgrace. But at sea, the navy of the United States, have achieved brilliant victories. Capt. Hull, in the frigate *Constitution*, captured the British frigate *Guerriere*. Capt. Jones in the *Wasp*, captured the sloop of war *Frolic* ; Capt. Decatur, in the frigate *United States*, captured the frigate *Macedonian* ; and Capt. Bainbridge, in the *Constitution* frigate, captured the frigate *Java* — These successes show the excellence of American seamen ; and indicates the policy of President Washington, in urging the equipment of a naval force. Had this been done, commerce would have been protected, our rights more respected, our coasts defended : and war perhaps prevented ;—or when declared, would have been prosecuted with effect.

Towards the close of 1812, an election for President and Vice-President of the United States took place.—Those in favour of the late measures of the administration, voted for the re-election of Mr. Madison, and of Elbridge Gerry, in place of Mr. Clinton who had deceased. The opponents of the administration voted for De Witt Clinton as President, and Jared Ingersol, as Vice-President. Mr. Madison and Gerry were elected by a considerable majority

This was a fair expression of the public will, as to the majority of voters—but the Northern and Eastern states voting mostly in opposition, shows a division of sentiment between them and those to the South and

West, unpleasant to the friends of union and harmony among the members of the great American family — The republican principle, that a majority must govern will, however, be upheld by all the citizens of the United States.

CHAP. VIII.

An internal View of the United States, as to Religion, Government, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, Population, Territory, and Improvements.

HAVING given a general history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time ; it may now be proper to take a view of these peaceful events, which, though less splendid, are more pleasing than the achievements of the warrior, or the schemes of the politician.

1. *Of Religion.*

The British colonies were settled by persons of various religious denominations.—The first emigrants to New England were chiefly Congregationalists, or Independents,—to New York and New Jersey, Presbyterians,—to Pennsylvania, Quakers,—to Maryland, Roman Catholics,—to Virginia and Carolina, Episcopalians. The Independents of New England, and the Episcopalians of Virginia and Carolina, sought to give an ascendancy to those of their own religious tenets. Discord, and a degree of persecution, was the consequence. But as the colonies increased in population, and were filled with emigrants of various countries and religious denominations, it became evident, that the security and happiness of the whole was best promoted by allowing perfect liberty in religious tenets. The rights of conscience are now universally understood and enjoyed. In the constitutions of the respective states, religious liberty is a fundamental principle.—Every church, sect, or party, are on an equal footing with respect to civil privileges. The Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Quaker, Roman Catholic, Independent, &c. meet together in Congress, and the state legislatures. The advantages of social intercourse, good neighbourhood, and civil honours, are promiscuously

enjoyed without inquiring about religious opinions.—All denominations must be attached to the constitution and government under which they enjoy such rights and privileges.

It is not to be inferred from hence, that the professors of Christianity are indifferent as to the advancement of religion, or even careless in spreading the distinguishing tenets of their respective churches. There is scarcely a religious denomination but exists in the United States, and has churches in various and distant parts. These are founded and supported at a very considerable expense to the members, and by great labour to the missionaries, both in travelling and in preaching. But each party is left to support itself, and must stand on its own foundation. Protection is equally enjoyed by all. From this new state of things, the world will be able to determine, whether genuine Christianity is diminished by the want of civil, or national establishments; or whether these have been an hindrance to the spreading of the truth, and detrimental to morality as well as to religion. Hitherto the experiment has been favourable. No evils whatever have resulted from the entire separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil power. As the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, his religion will be more pure and prosperous, without the intervention of penal statutes, and other secular aids, by which it has been corrupted, or its progress marred, in the old world.

2. Of Government.

The colonies, from their first settlement, were nurseries of freemen. The inhabitants were devoted to liberty, and grew up in an acquaintance with, and attachment to, their rights. When it became necessary to form themselves into independent states, they established governments on democratic principles, without distinction of rank, or exclusive privileges.—The sovereignty lay in the people, which they delegated to their representatives, in certain portions, and with certain restrictions, as are specified in their constitutions and bills of rights. In no age or country, did

man ever before possess an election of the kind of government under which he would choose to live. It was in America, in the first instance, that reason and liberty concurred in the formation of such constitutions. It is hoped, for the honour of human nature, and for the happiness of mankind, that the result will prove the fallacy of those theories which assert, that mankind are incapable of governing or obeying themselves. By the power that the people have of altering and amending their constitutions, whenever they please, the science of government is laid open to improvements from experience. The friends of liberty are led to expect, that by this means, oppression will cease, and the political happiness of mankind be secured, as far as is possible in this imperfect state of human things.

Since the peace of 1783, most of the constitutions, as well as the confederation between the states, have, by general consent, been altered and amended; and such changes made in them, as experience had shewn to be necessary to the preservation of liberty and good government. This has taken place peaceably, after a full and fair discussion.—So that a degree of political happiness has been attained: Liberty, and an efficient government, are combined together in a manner much superior to what has hitherto taken place in the world. The beneficial effects of the revolution are still unfolding to the view.

By the constitution of the United States, Congress are invested with power to regulate trade,—make war and peace,—lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises,—coin money,—establish post-offices, and post roads, &c. The legislative power is in a Senate and House of Representatives; the executive power in a President; and the judicial in courts of justice.—The House of Representatives are chosen by the people, every second year; the Senate is chosen by the legislatures of the states, two by each state, and continue in office six years. The President and Vice-president are chosen by electors, who are delegated by the people for that purpose; their term of office is four years. The members of Congress, President, and Vice-president, may be re-elected as often as the people see meet. All ex-

ecutive offices, whether civil or military, are appointed by the President, with the advice of the Senate; and, except the judges, who hold their commissions during good behaviour, are removable by him. He is the representative of the United States, in all their transactions with foreign powers. The President, Vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, are liable to impeachment, trial, and punishment, for treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors.

In each state, the form of government, as to its general outlines, is nearly the same as that of the United States. Each state retains every power of an independent sovereignty, except so much thereof as is delegated to the United States. The line of jurisdiction is carefully drawn in their respective constitutions. The whole being a federal republic; exhibited a new order in the political relation of states to each other.

The *Laws* are mild and equal. Successful experiments have been made in several of the states, to ameliorate the criminal code. The punishment of death, except in crimes of peculiar atrocity, has been abolished. Corporal punishments are discontinued. In place of these severe laws, confinement, solitude, and hard labour are substituted. The most salutary effects, both as to the reformation of offenders, and the preventing of crimes, have followed this system of humanity.

The slave trade, since 1810, is prohibited by the general government. In some states, slavery is abolished; others have adopted efficacious measures for its gradual abolition. The negroes in general, have experienced a favourable change in their condition, since the revolution.

Emigrants coming to the United States, as soon as they arrive, may follow commerce, exercise any trade, on the same terms with the natives;—and after a few years residence, and giving assurance of their allegiance, they may elect, or be elected into any office, except that of President.—So it may be asserted, that

the government of the United States is practically, as well as in theory, fitted for the maintainance of peace, liberty, and safety.

3. Literary Institutions, and the Arts.

KNOWLEDGE is necessary to the preservation of liberty. When people are instructed in the nature of their rights, they will neither be lead aside by artful demagogues, nor suffer their rulers to oppress them.—It is also a source of happiness to the mind ; elevates man above the beast ; and gives civilized nations a superiority over the savage.

The first settlers in America were sensible of the utility of learning, and careful to promote it. As soon as the first difficulties in procuring subsistence were overcome, the people of Massachusetts and Connecticut passed law, by which every town was obliged to procure a teacher ; and a certain part of the public taxes was appropriated for his support. These public schools have been excellent nurseries of genius. The university of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, was founded as early as 1636 ; and Yale college, in Connecticut, in 1700. William and Mary college, Virginia, in 1693. Princeton college, New Jersey, in 1738. Philadelphia college, in 1750. New York college, in 1754. The American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, was established in 1769. Rhode Island college, 1764.—Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, in 1769.—In these seminaries a great number of students have been educated, who have distinguished themselves as soldiers, politicians, and divines ; and who were highly useful in directing and influencing the body of the people, in the contest for independence.—Since the revolution seminaries of learning have been greatly multiplied ; and the foundations of the ancient ones improved and enlarged. The American Academy of Sciences, at Boston, was instituted in 1780. Maryland founded her university in 1782 ; the Methodists and Roman Catholics have erected colleges in the same state. A college was established in Virginia, 1774.—In 1783, a college was founded at Carlisle, Pennsylv.

nia. Three colleges have lately been incorporated in South Carolina ; at Charleston, Winnsborough, and Cambridge. In North Carolina and Georgia, the legislatures have established universities. Kentucky founded a college in 1791, Tennessee in 1794, and Ohio in 1806.—Besides these institutions, academies and schools are spread over the United States.—Many religious societies have seminaries for the education of the youth of their own denominations. Free-schools are increasing, and great attention is paid to female education.—It is a clause in the acts for the sale of land, in the vacant territories of the United States, that in each township a certain district shall be retained for endowing a school.

Societies for promoting agriculture and the arts, for charitable and humane purposes, for improving roads and inland navigation, are to be found in many of the states. A list of those for the city of Philadelphia may serve as a specimen :—

1. Charitable Institutions.—Pennsylvania Hospital : designed for the purpose of relieving the afflicted poor, whether in body or mind : instituted in the year 1751. House of Employment, or Alms House : for the support of the poor of the city, and some adjoining townships, where such as are able are employed in coarse manufactures, to aid in defraying their own expenses. Friends' Alms House ; supported by that society, for the use of their own poor. Abolition Society ; for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage : instituted in 1774. The Humane Society ; for the purpose of recovering persons supposed to be dead from drowning, or other accidents ; instituted in 1780. Philadelphia Dispensary ; for the purpose of affording medical relief to the sick at their own houses. The Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons : instituted in 1787.—From this Society arose the present excellent penitentiary system, wherein corporal punishment is abolished, and hard labour, solitude, and low diet are found more effectual for the reformation of the criminals.—Christ Church Hospital ; an endowment for aged women of the Protestant Episcopal church ; made by the

late Dr. Kearsley. African Schools: These were founded by the Society of Friends, and the Abolition Society; the first instituted in 1770, by private subscriptions of the Friends; the other supported by the abolition Society. First Day, or Sunday Schools; for the purpose of educating poor children, instituted 1771. Society for the reformation and assistance of emigrants, instituted 1794. Magdalen Society. Bible Society, 1809. Missionary Society, 1812.

2. Institutions for promoting Science.—University of Pennsylvania, formerly the college of Philadelphia: the college was founded about the year 1750, and last erected into a University in 1791. The medical schools in this institution, are the most extensive of any in the United States. Philadelphia Library, containing fifteen thousand volumes: founded in 1731. American Philosophical Society, for promoting useful knowledge, was instituted in 1769. Loganian Library: instituted by the late James Logan. College of Physicians of Philadelphia; for the purpose of extending medical knowledge; instituted in 1787. Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture, was formed in 1785. Peale's Museum of natural curiosities; containing a valuable collection of birds, beasts, reptiles, fossils, &c. Young Ladies' Academies; and a great number of private academies and schools. American Academy of Fine Arts.—This institution has an annual exhibition in May, where artists send their productions for exhibition or for sale.

3. National Societies.—St. Andrew's Society; German Society; St. George's Society; St. Patrick's Society; French Benevolent Society. These are designed for the relief of their distressed countrymen.

4. Mutual Benefit Societies.—Shipmaster's Society; Typographical Society; Caledonian Society; Thistle Society; Union Society; Friendly Society; Provident Society. The design of these associations, is mutually to assist each other in sickness, and to provide for the widows and orphans of deceased members. A number of the ministers of the Episcopal church, and of the Presbyterian church are associated for the same purpose. Mason Lodges.

5. Health Office. The design of this institution is to prevent the importation of diseases : and to preserve the health of the city.

6. Insurance Companies.—Insurance Company of North America ; ditto, of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Contributionship, for insuring Houses from loss by Fire. Delaware Insurance Company. Union Insurance Company. Phœnix Insurance Company.—Mutual Insurance Company. Several offices for Insurance of Ships and Vessels.

7. Several Companies are incorporated for improving the navigation of rivers, cutting canals, making turnpike roads, cultivating the vine, &c.

8. About fifty churches belonging to different religious denominations.

Philadelphia has been long noted for her various manufactures, and they are continually increasing in variety and extent. Part of the capital formerly employed in foreign commerce has, since the operation of the injurious edicts of European belligerents, been judiciously and profitably employed in these establishments. The value of manufactures in the state of Pennsylvania for the year 1810, according to the marshal's return, amounted to 44,194,740.

Though no other state or city, can boast of so many institutions, yet each have societies on similar plans, according to their population and state of society.

The arts are in a state of progressive improvement in the United States. Several valuable inventions have been made by the inhabitants.—Franklin's electrical conductor, Rittenhouse's planetarium, Godfrey's quadrant, Rumsey and Fitch's steam engines, Evan's flour mills, in which nearly the whole business is done by machinery, Fulton's Steam boats, Finley's Chain bridge, the wire cutter's machine for card makers, Brigg's machinery for cutting nails out of rolled iron, &c. In war and politics the United States have produced a Washington, in natural philosophy a Franklin, in astronomy and mechanics a Rittenhouse. Many other characters have distinguished themselves both in the cabinet and field.

The genius of the Americans have always been displayed, as historians, geographers, orators, poets, and divines. None, however, are authors by profession ; hence few works of taste in poetry or belles lettres are produced. The inhabitants of the United States are scattered over a great extent of territory, and generally engaged in pursuits more suited to the state of a new country, and a rising empire. The same reason has prevented any remarkable progress in the fine arts of painting, sculpture, ornamental engravings, and the more elegant manufactures. The real comforts of life are now enjoyed by the inhabitants more universally than in any other country. Time, with industry, will give to the United States, all that is refined in science, and gratifying to rational men.—Even now the fine arts are rapidly progressing.

Learning has been much advanced by the increase of the art of printing ; and the multiplying of books and newspapers. Printing presses are erected in every state. Books in different languages, and on a great variety of subjects, are daily publishing : whereby science is advanced, and its acquisition rendered easy to the citizens. Several large works have been printed in Philadelphia, which will not suffer by a comparison with European editions, either in printing, paper, or engravings. Five hundred different newspapers, are printed and circulated through every part of the country, the postage being fixed at a low rate rate by Congress.—Every person may freely write and publish what he pleases, but is responsible for an abuse of that liberty. These abuses sometimes occur. Public characters are particularly affected by them. It is a tax on office. And it is difficult to find a remedy for the evil, that would not be worse than the injury.

4. Of Commerce, Manufactures, and Agriculture.

While America remained under the dominion of Britain, her trade was restricted to that country, and to some of its colonies ; and her manufactures were in

many instances prohibited. Independence being declared, the whole commercial world lay open to her merchants. Since the establishment of the new constitution, commerce and manufactures have been greatly extended.—Trade is carried on directly with China, India, the Cape of Good Hope, up the Mediterranean and Baltic seas, to South America, the north-west coast of America, the West Indies, Europe, the islands of Madeira, Teneriffe, &c. A very profitable trade is carried on between the different states.—And the fisheries on the coast of New England and Newfoundland, are a great source of wealth.

As connected with commerce, the banks in the United States, deserve notice.—The Bank of North America was instituted in 1781 ; and was eminently useful by its credit, in bringing the war to a happy issue. In 1791, Congress incorporated the Bank of the United States. Banks of late years have greatly increased, not only in commercial cities, but in country towns.—The total number in the United States is one hundred, and their capitals amount to sixty-one millions of dollars. Banking is a very advantageous business in the United States. The new sources of trade that have been opened, and the manufactures and improvements that have commenced, occasioned a demand for an active capital, which these banks have supplied. But a number of them are blameable in issuing notes for small sums, of one, two, and three dollars. These notes soon become ragged, and occasion loss to the holder ; and injure the country, by giving undue facility to the exportation of silver. Some of the legislatures have prohibited the circulation of these small notes ; and forbid creating banks without a charter.

Manufactures in the United States are increasing rapidly. The old branches are extending, and new ones introducing. Among the articles manufactured, are, woollen and cotton cloths,—leather in all its branches,—bar and sheet iron, steel, nails, iron castings,—carriages,—cabinet ware,—ships,—cotton and wool cards,—cooper's wares,—ardent spirits, malt liquors, wines,—paper of all sorts,—refined sugar,—chocolate,—can-

dles and soap,---hats,---copper, brass, pewter, and tin wares,---clocks and watches,---snuff and tobacco,---starch, and hair powder,---combs,---gun powder, cannon, and muskets,---books, in various languages,---flour and meal of all kinds,---pot and pearl ashes,---pitch, tar, and turpentine,---lampblack,---oils,---printing types,---paper hangings,---calico printing,---jewellery,---silver and gold ware,---glass,---hempen and flaxen cloth,---floor cloths,---queens ware,---shot,---saltpetre,---maple sugar,---straw bonnets, &c.

Besides these branches, which are carried on as regular trades, family manufactures, to a considerable amount, are produced throughout the country, in addition to the labours of the farm.

Since the interruption of foreign commerce, by the decrees and orders of the belligerents in Europe, and by the embargo and non intercourse laws, in consequence of the unjust decrees and orders of the British and French against neutral trade, the manufactures in the United States have greatly increased.

Agriculture is in a very improving state. Three fourths of the inhabitants of the United States are employed in it. Many of the first characters, men of liberal education, pay attention to the improvement of their lands. President, (or, as he was sometimes called Farmer) Washington, was as industrious in agricultural pursuits, as he was brave in the field, or wise in the cabinet. Societies are formed in many places, for the advancement of this first and best of arts—Improvements are making in the raising of grain, rotation of crops, breeding of cattle, manuring of land, raising of fruit trees, and every other part of husbandry.

Particular attention has lately been given to the improvement of cattle. Cattle Societies are formed for communicating information ; and cattle shews held, to exhibit the variety of breeds, and to spread the most valuable kinds throughout the country.

The Merino sheep from Spain was introduced in the year 1809. This valuable animal agrees with the climate, and will be of incalculable advantage in the establishment of woollen manufactures.

The amount of Exports, and the Duties on imported goods, for the following years will shew the increasing *Commerce* of the United States. But it is to be observed, that the coasting trade is not included.

	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>Duties.</i>
Exported in 1791,	18,399,202	
1792,	21,005,563	3,443,073
1793,	26,011,788	4,255,309
1794,	33,043,725	4,801,065
1795,	46,855,556	5,588,461
1796,	67,064,097	6,567,987
1797,	51,294,710	7,549,649
1798,	61,327,411	7,106,061
1799,	78,665,522	6,610,449
1800,	70,971,780	9,080,932
1801,	93,040,515	10,750,773
1802,	71,957,144	12,443,235
1803,	55,800,033	10,479,413
1804,	77,699,074	11,095,565
1805,	95,566,011	14,000,000
1806,	101,546,963	15,000,000
1807,	22,430,960	16,059,447
1808,	embargo.	10,352,163
1809, non-intercourse.		6,527,161
1810, non importation		12,515,490
1811, do.	7,500,000	

Two causes tended to increase the exports: the tonnage duties on foreign vessels; and the neutrality during the present European war, which made our ports a deposit for many West India articles, and gave American vessels a large share in the carrying trade. The United States is the most commercial nation in the world, next to Great Britain.

The following is an abstract of American produce or manufactures, exported from the United States. They are articles of the first necessity, either for subsistence or manufactures.

Ashes, Pot and Pearl	Naval Stores
Beer, Porter, Cider	Nails
Beef	Oats
Biscuit	Oil, whale and other fish
Butter	Pork
Boots	Peas
Cheese	Potatoes
Cotton	Rice
Candles	Rye
Cables and Cordage,	Spirits, from domestic
Coaches, and other car-	produce
riages.	Shoes
Flour	Skins and furs
Fish	Soap
Furniture	Sugar, loaf, and other re-
Flaxseed	fined
Gunpowder	Snuff
Ginseng	Sheep
Hats	Tobacco manufactured
Hams and Bacon	Tobacco unmanufactured
Hops	Tallow
Horned cattle	Wheat
Horses	Whalebone
Iron	Wax
Indigo	Wood, timber and lum-
Indian meal and corn	ber
Lard	——Oak bark, and other
Lead	dye
Leather	——all manufactures of

EXPORTS

Of Domestic Produce to all parts of the World.

The annual value of the articles of domestic produce, exported to all parts of the world, calculated on the average of the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, is computed at

£39,928,000

Of which the amount exported to the dominions of Great Britain, is

20,653,000

And that to all other parts of the world, viz.

To the northern powers, Prussia and Germany,	2,918,000
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To the dominions of Holland, France, Spain, and Italy,	12,183,000
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To the dominions of Portugal,	1,925,000
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To all other countries, including also some articles not particularly discriminated,	2,249,000
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In 1806, the domestic exports were	43,504,000
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IMPORTATIONS

From all parts of the World.

The annual value of imports from all parts of the world, calculated on the average of the same three years, amount to

\$75,316,000

Of which, the value imported from the dominions of Great Britain, amounts to	35,970,000
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And that imported from all other countries is

From the northern powers, Prussia and Germany,	7,094,000
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From the dominions of Holland, France, Spain, and Italy,	25,475,000
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From the dominions of Portugal,	1,083,000
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From China, and other native powers of Asia,	4,856,000
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From all other countries, including also some articles not particularly discriminated,	838,000
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So that near one half of this trade centres in Great Britain and her dependencies. The duties on British goods in three years was upwards of \$19,000,000.

The carrying trade centred chiefly in Holland, France, Spain, and Italy. This trade depends on the European war; as Britain prevents these nations from trading in their own ships.

It appears that the annual value of the articles of foreign produce, re-exported to all parts of the world,

calculated on the average of the same three years, is estimated at

\$28,533,000

Of which the amounts exported to the dominions of Great Britain, is

4,054,000

And that to all other parts of the world, viz.

To the northern powers, Prussia, and Germany,

5,051,000

To the dominions of Holland, France, Spain, and Italy,

18,495,000

To the dominions of Portugal,

396,000.

To all other countries,

1,537,000

The revenue of the United States gained from this trade in these three years was 850,000 dollars, and that paid by the foreign nations ; being duties retained on the articles re-exported.

Of late years the trade to Russia has much increased. But commerce has become in general much deranged, as well as by embargo and non-intercourse laws, as by foreign aggressions.

The following ports paid into the treasury from April 1801, to March 31, 1805, the annexed sums :

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Payments.</i>
New York	\$12,862,020 17
Philadelphia	7,777,965 14
Boston	6,408,400 25
Baltimore	3,861,953 8
Charleston	3,061,639 54
Norfolk	1,761,673 77
Salem, (Mass.)	1,034,498 7
Savannah	914,039 73

5. *Of the Territory, Population, Debt, Revenue, and Expenditure of the United States.*

THE United States, exclusive of Louisiana, are about fourteen hundred miles long, from north to south, and in breadth to the northward twelve hundred miles, but to the southward not more than seven hundred.— This territory includes by computation, one million of

square miles ; and includes a variety of soils and climates, which produces, or by cultivation may be brought to produce, almost every necessity and superfluity of life. As a small part of this territory is inhabited or explored, it is reasonable to suppose, that many valuable articles of commerce, manufactures or subsistence, will yet be discovered. It has been remarked, that the soil near the coast is not so fertile as that to the westward ; and that the northern states are more sterile than the southern ; but this is balanced by the inhabitants on the coast having a readier market for their produce, and by the northern states having the advantage of a valuable fishery near their harbours.—The United States have a vast extent of sea-coast, numerous bays and harbours, many large navigable rivers, and immense lakes ; which renders the country extremely convenient for navigation, and spreads fertility and beauty throughout the whole.

Louisiana is an extensive and valuable country, producing sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, rice, and has many valuable mines of iron, copper, coal, and lead, with abundance of the means of procuring salt, and is intersected with large and navigable rivers.

The population of the United States in 1790, was 3,933,633, and has nearly doubled the last twenty years.

The number of slaves in 1800, were 876,626. In 1810 the number was 1,191,364. So that the number of slaves has increased 314,738. Most of these are to the southward of Pennsylvania.—This is a blot on the American character, which, it is probable, will soon be wiped away, by the humane exertions making in behalf of these unfortunate people in most of the states.

The following table of the Population of the United States, displays the enumeration taken in 1800 and 1810.

The quota of Representatives to Congress is according to the apportionment of the last census of 1810.

POPULATION TABLE.

STATES.	Inhabi- tants, 1800.	Inhabi- tants, 1810.	Membr. Congr.	Chief Towns, with their Population.
New Hampshire,	183,858	214,415	6	Portsmouth, 6,000
Massachusetts,	573,565	700,444	20	Boston, 30,000
Connecticut,	251,002	261,942	7	Hartford, 6,000
Vermont,	154,465	217,913	6	Bennington, 3,000
Rhode-Island,	69,122	76,931	2	Providence, 10,769
New-York,	586,050	959,220	27	New-York, 100,000
New-Jersey,	211,149	245,562	6	Trenton, 3,000
Pennsylvania,	602,365	810,165	23	Philadelphia, 96,660
Delaware,	64,273	72,674	2	Wilmington, 4,415
Maryland,	322,125	380,546	9	Baltimore, 46,485
Virginia,	886,149	965,079	23	Richmond, 10,000
North Carolina,	478,103	563,526	13	Newbern, 3,000
South Carolina,	345,591	414,935	9	Charleston, 25,000
Georgia,	162,686	252,433	6	Savannah, 5,600
Kentucky,	220,955	406,511	10	Lexington, 3,000
Tennessee,	100,000	261,727	6	Knoxville, 1,000
Mississippi,	8,355	40,352		Natches, 2000
Louisiana,		76,556	1	New Orleans, 20,000
Missouri,		20,845		New Madrid, 600
Ohio, } N.		230,760	6	Chillicothe, 1,100
Illinois, } W.	45,854	12,282		St. Louis, 1,400
Michigan, } Terri.		4,736		Detroit, 1,300
Columbia Dist.		24,023		Washington, 8,200
Indiana Territory,	5,365	24,520		Vincennes, 2,000
	5,257,312	7,238,421	182	
Increase in ten years,		1,323,679		

At the close of the war, the domestic Debt of the United States was computed at forty millions of dollars. But the deranged state of the public finances for several years, rendered it impossible to pay the interest of the public securities. Hence the debt increased. At the commencement of the present government, the Secretary of the Treasury estimated the debt to be—

Domestic	42,414,085 94
Foreign	12,000,000 00
Assumed Debt	21,510,000 00
Added since, Louisiana debt	15,000,000 00
	<hr/>
Dols.	90,924,085 94
X 2	

The assumed debt is that portion of the debt of each state, which it is supposed they incurred above their proportion, for the common defence during the war.

The Revenues of the United States arise from duties on goods imported, on the tonnage of vessels, and from the post office. By these means, in a peace, more than a sufficiency of money is brought into the treasury to answer all the public demands. The surplus of revenue is appropriated for the redemption of the public debt. The western lands in possession of Congress is also pledged for the same purpose. Most of the states have a surplus of money in their treasury.

The sale of public lands from 1800, when the sales commenced, to 1819, amounted to 6,681,000 dollars.

Permanent revenue averaged yearly at	\$12,500,000
Yearly payment of the principal and interest of the public debt,	8,000,000
Annual domestic expenses of a civil nature, including invalid pensions, light house, and mint establishments, surveys of lands	1,000,000
Foreign intercourse	200,000
Military and Indian departments	1,030,000
Naval establishment	1,070,000
	<hr/>
	11,300,000

The amount of the debt discharged at the commencement of 1812 was about 46,000,000.

But in that year, 11,000,000 was borrowed for the expenses of the war.

The *Salaries* of the public officers of the United States are as follow :

President,	-	-	<i>Dolls. per. ann.</i>	25,000
Vice-President,	-	-		5,000
Secretary of State,	-	-		5,000
Secretary of the Treasury,	-	-		5,000
Comptroller,	-	-		3,000

Auditor,	3,000
Register,	2,400
Treasurer,	3,000
Commissioner of the Revenue,	3,000
Secretary at War,	4,500
Secretary of the Navy,	4,500
Accountant of the War Department,	2,000
Accountant of the Navy Department,	2,000
Chief Justice,	4,000
Six Associate Judges, each	3,500
Attorney General,	3,000
A Minister plenipotentiary, not exceeding,	9,000
Director of the Mint,	2,000
Treasurer,	1,000
Chief Coiner,	1,260
Assayer,	1,500
Engraver,	1,500
Postmaster General,	3,000
Assistant ditto.	1,700
Chaplain to Congress,	500

The members of the Senate and House of Representatives, receive 6 dollars per day, during the session; the speaker of the House, 12 dollars.

<i>Officers of the Army and Navy,</i>	<i>Dolls. per Month.</i>
Major General,	166
Brigadier General,	104
Quarter-master General,	100
Adjutant General and Inspector,	75
Lieutenant Colonel,	75
Major of Infantry or Marines,	50
Captain of Infantry or Marines,	40
Lieutenant,	26
Ensign and Cornet,	20
Sergeant,	8
Corporal,	7
Private, (which is more than in any other army)	5
Captain of a frigate of 32 guns and upwards,	100
Captain of a frigate of 20 guns and under 32,	75
Captain of smaller vessels,	50
Besides rations.	

The standing army comprises only a few troops in the forts, and a small body of men on the southern frontiers.—The militia is computed to be 1,100,000. 25,000 men were raised for the war in 1812.

The navy consists of thirteen frigates, some small vessels, and 174 gun-boats. The timber and other materials for six ship of 74 guns are partly prepared.

The whole expense of the civil list is about 589,309 dollars. In no other nation is government administered at so cheap a rate. The civil list of Britain is a million of pounds sterling, annually, which is nearly the whole expense of the United States. Every individual in England pays five times more in taxes, than a citizen of America. Other countries in Europe are in the same or in a worse condition, with respect to taxes, and ability to pay them than England.

6. *Internal Improvements, with Remarks.*

THE internal improvements in the United States, are rapidly progressing. Turnpike roads from Philadelphia extend in various directions. The western road is extended for ninety miles, and it is expected will soon be carried to Pittsburgh. In the northern parts of the state, a turnpike has been constructed between the Susquehannah and the Delaware, with a view to facilitate the transportation of produce to Philadelphia. In the north and west parts of New York state, like roads in various directions have been laid out, rivers cleared of their obstructions, and canals dug, to effect a speedy communication with the city of New-York. A road from Maryland to the state of Ohio, has been made at the expense of the United States. In New England equal attention has been paid to connect the various parts of the country in a beneficial intercourse. Bridges, on an elegant plan, have been constructed. Three are erected at Boston; two over the Delaware, one at Trenton, the other at Easton; the bridge over the Schuylkill, at Philadelphia, is the most costly structure of the kind in the United States.

Large sums have been expended in opening the navigation of the Potomac above tide water ; when the work is completed, a vast tract of fertile country will be laid open to navigation. South Carolina has incorporated a company with extensive powers for inland navigation. Pennsylvania has projected canals to unite the Delaware and the Susquehannah, and to extend to the western lakes. The work has made some progress ; but is at present at a stand for want of funds. A canal to unite the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, has begun, but want of punctuality in the payments prevents its progressing. This canal is a link of an extensive inland navigation which might be carried from New York to Georgia ; and would be of vast advantage to internal commerce. A canal company is incorporated to unite lake Erie with the river Hudson. This will open the whole trade of the lakes with the Atlantic coast. President Jefferson, in his message to Congress, at the opening of the session in December, 1806, proposes to apply the surplus revenue which will accrue in a few years, to the improvement of roads, rivers, and canals ; and to have the federal constitution amended, so as to grant this power to Congress, which he apprehends would cement the union by new and indissoluble ties.

The public buildings lately erected are magnificent, particularly the state house in Boston ; the city hall and government house in New York ; the banks of the United States, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia, the University, the Academy of Fine Arts, the theatre and circus, the Masonic Lodge, Dr. Staughton's church, the City Hospital, and the Library Hall, in Philadelphia ; the Capitol and the President's house in the city of Washington. The steam engine houses in Philadelphia, for supplying the city with water from Schuylkill, deserves notice. One of them, in the centre of the city, is a handsome marble edifice. The water is distributed by wooden pipes laid under the streets ; and affords a plentiful supply to the inhabitants, and is particularly useful in case of fire.—Many very elegant and convenient private buildings have been lately erected.—The country in general gives evidence of increasing prosperity and wealth.

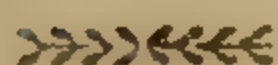
The population of the United States has more than doubled since the peace in 1783. Some of the capital cities have tripled their inhabitants. New cities, towns and villages have been erected ; and many parts that were then a wilderness, are now cultivated fields, and filled with industrious inhabitants.

The value of land, and the produce of the country, are rising in value. In 1740, flour was sold in Philadelphia, for one dollar the hundred weight ; in 1776, at two dollars ; in 1806, at four dollars and a half.—The price of labour has increased in the same proportion. The value of lands on the western waters, and the produce of that country, has been greatly enhanced by the United States having the free navigation of the Mississippi.

The United States have but few charms for the dissipated and voluptuous European. But the industrious, sober, and active part of mankind, have many opportunities of acquiring comfort and prosperity.

The people of the United States are in general, a sober and orderly people, well acquainted with their rights, yet submissive to law and government. Their republican constitutions lead them to political speculations, and gives energy to their mind. The blessings they enjoy under a benevolent system of government urges them to be zealous in its preservation and defence. And, indeed, in every point of view, the constitution and government of the United States deserves the affection and support of every member of the commonwealth ; and to be carefully guarded from the destructive influence either of tyranny or anarchy.

CHAP. IX.



SECT. I.

A COLLECTION OF PUBLIC PAPERS.



The first PETITION of CONGRESS to the KING, in 1774.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves, and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander in chief, and under him, of the brigadiers-general, has, in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in North America has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased, and new, expensive, and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors holding commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament, made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue ; and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits ; whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners, before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved, that colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the eighth ; and, in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute.

A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, where inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last session of Parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston ; another empowering the governor of Massachusetts Bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain for trial, whereby such offences may escape legal punishment ; a third for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province ; and a fourth for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government, and the Roman Catholic religion, throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, Protestant, English settlements ; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North America.

To a sovereign who glories in the name of Briton, the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of the throne, and implore his protection for clemency against them.

From this destructive system of colony-administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction : and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part, from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by

those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them, and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to give us an existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks to his adorable goodness, we are born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our rights under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices, that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty: and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that touches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great object of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves, and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your attention, and as your royal majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly in-

terposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking our property from us without our consent, "to defray civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the colonies." But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been, and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: and for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militia, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully efficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they have ever been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exercising their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government; we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honourable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet, the inheritance left us by our fore-fathers, we should, at this time, have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves by every testimony of devotion, to your majesty, and of veneration to the state from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural

scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto, with filial reverence, constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience ; yet, we doubt not, the purity of our intention, and the integrity of our conduct, will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great-Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America— affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay—and, altering the government, and extending the limits of Quebec ; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed, in our happier days to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly through the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending danger.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honour of Almighty GOD, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses—that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectations of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

A DECLARATION

By the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up Arms, July 6, 1775.

IF it were possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the

objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom ; and desperate of success, in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.—Yet, however blinded that assembly may be by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians.—Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the

wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source : and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of the war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his councils. From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion ; and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder.—The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceful and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war : though so recently and amply acknowledged, in the most honourable manner, by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project ; and, assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effect of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property ; statutes have been passed, for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits ; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property ; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies ; for interdicting all commerce with the capital of another ; and for altering fundamentally, the form of government established by charter, and secu-

red by acts of its own legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown ; for exempting the “murderers” of Colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment ; for erecting, in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence ; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists, in the time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that Colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England for trial.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can, “of right, make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever*.”—What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us ; or is subject to our controul or influence : but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operations of such laws : and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants ; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true ; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king ; and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure ; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth, should supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate

step of the controversy : But subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies, were inserted in his majesty's speech : our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The lords and commons, in their address, in the month of February, said that " a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts-Bay ; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies ; and therefore they besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws, and authority of the supreme legislature."—Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries, and with one another, was cut off by an act of parliament ; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence ; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to general Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives ; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that would be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial

rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on the continent, general Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of said detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded, in warlike array, to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants, of the same province, killing several, and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression.—Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town, by the general their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated, that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants; and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives were separated from their

husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends who wished to attend and comfort them ; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds “ to declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors ; to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial.” His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charleston, besides a considerable number of houses in other places ; our ships and vessels are seized ; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that general Carleton, the governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province, and the Indians to fall upon us : and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.—The latter is our choice.—We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.—Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our case is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign as

sistance is undoubtedly attainable.—We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, have been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animated reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, **DECLARE**, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator has graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties ; being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with the ambitious design of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without an imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it - for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressor, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With humble confidence in the mercies of the su-

preme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS

On Lord North's Conciliatory Motion.

THE several assemblies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, having referred to the Congress a resolution of the Commons of Great Britain, which resolution is in these words: viz.

“ *Lunæ, 20^o die Feb. 1775.*

“ The House in a Committee on American Papers, motion made, and question proposed,

“ That it is the opinion of the Committee, that when the General Council and Assembly, or General Court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstances or situation of that province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament) and shall engage to make provision also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provisions shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose, for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of

the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

The Congress took the said resolution into consideration, and are thereupon of opinion :

That the Colonies of America are entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money ; that this involves a right of deliberating whether they will make any gift, for what purposes it shall be made, and what shall be its amount : and that it is a high breach of this privilege, for any body of men, extraneous to their constitution, to prescribe the purposes for which money shall be levied on them, to take to themselves the authority of judging their conditions, circumstances, and situations, and of determining the amount of the contribution to be levied.

That as the colonies possess a right of appropriating their gifts, so they are entitled at all times to inquire into their application, to see that they be not wasted among the venal and corrupt, for the purpose of undermining the civil rights of the givers, nor yet be diverted to the support of standing armies, inconsistent with their freedom, and subversive of their quiet. To propose, therefore, as this resolution does, that the amounts given by the colonies shall be subject to the disposal of parliament alone, is to propose that they shall relinquish this right of inquiry, and put it in the power of others to render their gifts ruinous, in proportion as they are liberal.

That this privilege of giving or withholding our monies, is an important barrier against the undue exertion of prerogative, which, if left altogether without controul, may be exercised to our great oppression ; and all history shews how efficacious is its intercession for redress of grievances and re-establishment of rights, and how improvident it would be to part with so powerful a mediator.

We are of opinion, that the proposition contained in this resolution is unreasonable and insidious : unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare without reservation, we will purchase the favour of Parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour :

It is insidious, because, individual colonies having bid and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy ; are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies, whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer.

That the suspension of the exercise of their pretended power of taxation being expressly made commensurate with the continuance of our gifts, these must be perpetual to make that so. Whereas no experience has shewn that a gift of perpetual revenue, secures a perpetual return of duty or of kind disposition. On the contrary, the Parliament itself, wisely attentive to this observation, are in the established practice of granting their supplies from year to year only.

Desirous and determined as we are to consider in the most dispassionate view every seeming advance towards a reconciliation made by the British Parliament, let our brethren of Britain reflect what would have been the sacrifice to men of free spirits, had even fair terms been proffered, as these insidious proposals were, with circumstances of insult and defiance. A proposition to give our money, accompanied with large fleets and armies, seems addressed to our fears rather than to our freedom. With what patience would Britons have received articles of treaty from any power on earth, when borne on the point of the bayonet, by military plenipotentiaries?

We think the attempts unnecessary to raise upon us by force or by threats, our proportional contribution to the common defence, when all know, and themselves acknowledge, we have fully, whenever called upon so to do in the character of freemen.

We are of opinion, it is not just that the colonies should be required to oblige themselves to other contributions, while Great Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade. This of itself lays them under heavy contribution. To demand, therefore, additional aids in the form of a tax, is to demand the double of their equal proportion. If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them

enjoy free commerce with the whole world. But whilst restrictions on our trade shut to us the resources of wealth, it is just we should bear all other burdens equally with those to whom every resource is open !

We conceive that the British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil government, or the administration of justice. The provisions we have made please ourselves, and are agreeable to our own circumstances; they answer the substantial purposes of government, and of justice ; and other purposes than these should not be answered. We do not mean that our people shall be burdened with oppressive taxes, to provide sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under colour of providing for a civil list. While parliament pursues their plan of government within their own jurisdiction, we also hope to pursue ours without molestation.

We are of opinion, the proposition is altogether unsatisfactory, because it imports only a suspension of the mode, not a renunciation of the pretended right to tax us ; because too, it does not propose to repeal the several acts of parliament, passed for the purposes of restraining the trade, and altering the form of government of one of the colonies ; extending the boundaries, and changing the government of Quebec ; enlarging the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty ; taking from us the rights of trial by a jury of the vicinage, in cases affecting both life and property ; transporting us into other countries, to be tried for criminal offences ; exempting, by mock trial, the murderer of colonists from punishment ; and quartering soldiers on us, in times of profound peace. Nor do they renounce the power of suspending our own legislatures, and of legislating for us themselves, in all cases whatsoever. On the contrary, to shew that they mean no discontinuance of injury, they pass acts, at the very time holding out this proposition, for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the province of New England, and for interdicting the trade of other colonies with all foreign nations, and with each other. This proves, unequivocally, they mean not to relinquish the exercise of indiscriminate legislation over us.

Upon the whole, this proposition seems to be held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief that there was nothing in dispute between us but the mode of levying taxes ; and that the parliament, having now been so good as to give up this, the colonies are unreasonable if not perfectly satisfied ; whereas, in truth, our adversaries still claim a right of demanding *ad libitum*, and of taxing us themselves to the full amount of their demand, if we do not comply with it. This leaves us without any thing we can call property.— But what is of more importance, and what in this proposal they keep out of sight, as if no such point was now in contest between us, they claim a right to alter our charters and established laws, and leave us without any security for our lives and liberties. The proposition seems also to have been calculated, more particularly, to lull into fatal security our well affected fellow subjects, on the other side of the water, till time should be given for the operation of those arms, which a British minister pronounced would instantaneously reduce the “cowardly” sons of America to unreserved submission. But when the world reflects, how inadequate to justice are those vaunted terms ; when it attends to the rapid and bold succession of injuries, which during a course of eleven years have been aimed at these colonies ; when it reviews the pacific and respectful expostulations, which, during the whole time, were the sole arms we opposed to them ; when it observes, that our complaints were either not heard at all, or were answered with new and accumulated injury ; when it recollects, that the minister himself, on an early occasion, declared, “that he would never treat “with America, till he had brought her to his feet,” and that an avowed partisan of the ministry has, more lately, denounced against us the dreadful sentence, “*delendo est Carthago*,” that this was done in presence of a British senate, and being unproved by them, must be taken to be their own sentiment ; (especially as this purpose has already, in part, been carried into execution, by their treatment of Boston, and burning of Charleston ;) when it considers the great armaments with which they have invaded us, and the circumstan-

ces of cruelty with which these have commenced and prosecuted hostilities ; when these things, we say, are laid together, and attentively considered, can the world be deceived into an opinion that we are unreasonable, or can it hesitate to believe, with us, that nothing but our own exertions may defeat the ministerial sentence of death or abject submission.

By order of Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Philadelphia, July 31, 1775.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitle them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind, requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to a separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident ;—that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.—Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are ac-

customed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has entirely neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into a compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected : whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining in the mean time, exposed to the danger of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their emigration hither ; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation —

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

For cutting off our trade from all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and an instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow those usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDE-

PENDENT STATES ; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown ; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK.

(Signed by all the members present.)

July 4, 1776.

Extract from General Washington's Address to Congress, immediately after he was inaugurated into the office of President of the United States, April 30, 1789.

" Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives."

" AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years ; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by additions of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into

his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty, from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cases before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect—that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tran-

quail deliberation, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required, that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impression which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

An Extract from President Washington's Address to the People of the United States, announcing his design of retiring from public life. Sept. 17, 1796.

THE impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the

inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgements of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal.

A solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent view, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people.

Interwoven as is the *love of liberty* with every ligament of your heart, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The *unity of government* which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point of your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly

estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness: that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and an immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from any local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand.

The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more

and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East*, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*.

The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.

All *obstructions to the execution of the laws*, all *combinations and associations*, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and an extraordinary force—To put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community: and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Let me now warn you in the most solemn manner against the *baneful effects of the spirit of party*, generally.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

It always serves to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with the administration, *to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres*, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be

corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, *religion* and *morality* are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.—The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with public and private felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion.

Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish *public credit*. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but the vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debt which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear.

Observe *good faith* and *justice* towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too

novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded ; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.

Against the insidious wiles of *foreign influence* (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake ; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial ; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.— Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand ; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences.

There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation.— 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could

wish. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good ; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error ; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors.—Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

*Inauguration Speech of THOMAS JEFFERSON,
March 4, 1801.*

Friends, and Fellow Citizens,

CALLED upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of our fellow-citizens, which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks, for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me ; to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land—traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry—engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right—advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye ; When I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and

the hopes of this beloved country, committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that, in the other high authorities, provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support, which may enable us to steer, with safety, the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion, through which we have passed, the animation of discussion and of exertions, has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers, unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think ; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle—that though the will of the majority is, in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable—that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart, and one mind ; let us restore to social intercourse, that harmony and affection, without which, liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land, that religious intolerance, under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.

During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world—during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking, through blood and slaughter, his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the bil-

lows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore—that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety: but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, when reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear a republican government cannot be strong—that this government is not strong enough.—But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth—I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our federal and republican principles—our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean, from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe—too high minded to endure the degradations of others—possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants, to the thousandth and thousandth generation—entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties—to the acquisitions of our own industry—to honour and confidence from our fellow citizens; resulting not from birth, but from our actions, and their sense of them—enlightened by a benign re-

ligion, professed, indeed, and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man—acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling Providence, which, by its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter : with all these blessings, what is more necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people ? Still one thing more, fellow citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government ; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties, which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none—the support of the state government in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad—a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism—a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—economy in

the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened—the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith—encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid—the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason—freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and of reformation. The wisdom of our sages, the blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith—the text of civic instruction—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them, in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect, that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station, with the reputation and the favour which brings him into it. Without pretensions to the high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character,* whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong, through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be though wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consol-

* President Washington.

tion to me for the past ; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then on the patronage of your good will, to advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power, which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for our peace and prosperity.

CHAP. X.

Of America, and its original Inhabitants.

WHEN Columbus undertook his voyages of discovery, (as was noticed in the first chapter of this work, his intention was to sail to the East Indies by a western course. On his return to Europe, various conjectures were formed concerning the new found countries, and to what division of the earth they belonged. Columbus maintained that they were part of the vast regions of India. His idea was founded on the best charts of that time; the opinion of travellers to the east, who had described India as almost without bounds in that quarter; and from the gold and other commodities he found in the islands he had discovered. His opinion was in that age universally adopted. But it was exceedingly erroneous; and it was found that the new discoveries, so far from being part of India, were separated from it by the vast Pacific ocean, ten thousand miles wide. Even after the error was detected, the name of the West Indies was given to the islands, and that of Indians to the inhabitants of the whole continent.

After repeated voyages, the true position of the new world was discovered, and various regions of it explored. Mankind were astonished at its vast extent; the grandeur of its natural appearance; and the rude state of its native inhabitants.—These particulars still merit our attention.

America is of an immense extent, it is larger than either Europe, Asia, or Africa; and not much inferior in dimensions to a third part of the habitable globe.—It stretches from the northern polar circle, to a high southern latitude, above 1500 miles beyond the farthest extremity of the old continent. Its length is nearly 10,000 miles, and its greatest breadth 4000. It consists of two large peninsulas, called North and South America, divided by a narrow neck of land, called the Isthmus of Darien. A country of such extent pas-

ses through all the climates capable of becoming the habitation of man, and fit for producing whatever is necessary for his convenience or comfort.

America is very magnificent in its natural appearance. The mountains are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. The stupendous ridge of the Andes extend nearly the whole length of South America. Their tops are literally hid among the clouds; the storms often roll, and the thunder bursts below their summits: which, though in the torrid zone, are continually covered with snow. Forty volcanoes are burning in these mountains; and the whole chain of the Andes is subject to the most terrible earthquakes. The Allegany mountains in North America, extend from the northern lakes to Georgia, and are of various breadths, from sixty to one hundred miles.—Between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean, are high ridges of mountains, one hundred and forty miles broad.

The rivers of America, are proportionably large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of course, or the vast body of water they roll to the ocean. The Orinoco, Plata, Amazon, and St. Francis in South America; the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, Missouri, and Bourbon in North America, flow in spacious channels of two or three thousand miles in length, and resemble arms of the sea, rather than rivers of fresh water.

The lakes of the new world are no less conspicuous for grandeur, than its mountains or rivers. There is nothing in the other parts of the globe, which equal the prodigious chain of lakes in North America. They may be properly termed inland seas of fresh water.—Lake Superior, the largest of them, is 1500 miles in circumference, contains a number of islands; and upwards of forty rivers empty themselves into it.

America is extremely well situated for commerce, surrounded by the ocean, except the northern extremity, it has an easy communication with all parts of the world. The coasts are indented by spacious gulphs and bays, and its interior parts are rendered accessible by large rivers running in various directions, and by vast

lakes communicating with each other. The whole continent is thereby laid open to inland navigation, more extensive, and commodious, than in any other quarter of the globe.

America appeared as an immense forest. Most part of the country was almost in the same state as if it had been without inhabitants. Fertile plains were overflowed, or converted into marshes; and the ground covered with weeds, shrubs, and woods, so as to be almost impenetrable. The colonists sent from Europe were astonished at their entrance into the new world. The climate was so different from that they had been used to, that they fell a prey to new diseases. The soil was to be cleared from wood, to be drained from marshes, and to undergo a course of cultivation before it became a comfortable habitation for civilized man.— Nothing but the eager expectation of the Spaniards of finding gold; and of the settlers from Britain, of acquiring wealth, and enjoying liberty of conscience, could have induced them to encounter the hardships they met with in the wilds of America.

Having taken a brief view of the most distinguishing features of the new world, the state of its original inhabitants next merits our attention.

In America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. The greater part of the inhabitants were strangers to industry and labour, ignorant of the arts, and imperfectly acquainted with the nature of property. The Mexicans and Peruvians, were the only two nations in this vast continent, which had made any progress in the arts or institutions which belong to polished societies.

The intellectual faculties of the uncivilized Indians appeared to be very limited. Their thoughts and attention are confined within a small circle of objects, immediately conducive to their preservation or enjoyment. They follow eagerly the impulse of the appetite they feel; but are entirely regardless of futurity. Except when engaged in war, or in hunting, a savage spends his time in the most listless inactivity.

In America, none of the larger animals were tamed

by the inhabitants ; this is a remarkable distinction between them and the rudest inhabitants of the old world. The wild Arab, and the wandering Tartar, have reduced various tribes of animals to subjection ; but the Indians had not established their dominion over any one species, so as to render them subservient to his pleasure, or to ease him of his toil.

The Indians were entirely unacquainted with the use of iron, and with few of the useful metals. Their devices to supply the want of these metals were very rude and awkward. A hatchet made of stone, sticks hardened in the fire, or bones sharpened to a point or an edge, or instruments made of copper, were the tools with which they used to form their canoes, or dig their fields. Hence arose insuperable bars in the way of civilization, or advancing in the arts of polished life.

The Indians do not appear to differ widely in their make, colour, or constitution, from each other. They are in general slight made, rather tall and straight, and there are seldom any among them deformed ; their skin is of a reddish or copper colour ; their eyes are large and black, their hair is straight, and of the same hue ; they have good teeth ; their cheek-bones rather raised, but more so in the women than the men ; however, good faces and agreeable persons are frequently among the former, although they are more inclined to be fat than the other sex.

The Indians paint their faces red and black, which they esteem as greatly ornamental. They also paint themselves when they go to war ; but the method they make use of on this occasion differs from that wherein it is merely a decoration.

The young Indians who are desirous of excelling their companions in finery, slit the outward rim of both their ears ; around this they twist brass wire, till the weight draws the amputated rim into a bow of five or six inches diameter, and drags it almost down to the shoulder. It is also a common custom among them to bore their noses, and wear in them pendants of different sorts.

The Indians, in general, pay a greater attention to their dress, and to the ornaments with which they de-

corate their persons, than to the accommodation of their huts or tents. They construct the latter in the following simple and expeditious manner.

Being provided with poles of a proper length, they fasten two of them across, near their ends, with bands made of bark. Having done this, they raise them up, and extend the bottom of each as wide as they propose to make the area of the tent; they then erect others of an equal height, and fix them so as to support the two principal ones. Over the whole they lay skins of the elk or deer, sewed together, in quantity sufficient to cover the poles, and by lapping them over, form the door. A great number of skins are sometimes required for this.

The Indians are extremely circumspect and deliberate in every word and action; there is nothing that hurries them into any intemperate warmth, but that inveteracy to their enemies, which is rooted in every Indian heart, and never can be eradicated. In all other instances they are cool, and remarkably cautious, taking care not to betray on any account whatever their emotions. This seeming indifference, however, does not proceed from an entire suppression of the natural affections: for notwithstanding they are esteemed savages, they give great proofs of parental and filial tenderness.

They are much addicted to gaming, and often lose their arms, their apparel, and every thing they are possessed of.

The Indians are divided into small independent communities. Every separate body is again divided into bands or tribes. As the nation has some particular symbol by which it is distinguished from others, so each tribe has a badge from which it is denominated: as that of the Eagle, the Panther, the Tiger, the Buffalo, &c. &c. One band is represented by a Snake, another by a Tortoise, a third a Squirrel, a fourth a Wolf, and a fifth a Buffalo. Throughout every nation they particularize themselves in the same manner, and the meanest person among them, will remember his lineal descent, and distinguish himself by his respective family. Besides the name of the animal by which

every nation and tribe is denominated, there are others that are personal. Such as have signalized themselves either in their war or hunting parties, or are possessed of some eminent qualifications, receive a name that seems to perpetuate the fame of these actions, or to make their abilities conspicuous. Thus, one is named *Ottahtongoomlishcah*, that is, the Great Father of Snakes; another is called *Honalpawjatin*, which means a swift runner over the mountains. They also give expressive names to those they esteem, or enter into treaty with: The President of the old Congress, they saluted with the appellation of the Great Tree, meaning, that he was to be a shadow or a protection to them; and they call the President of the United States, their Great Father:

Every band has one who is termed the Great Chief, or the chief Warrior; and who is chosen in consideration of his experience in war. But this person is not considered as the head of the state; there is another who enjoys a pre-eminence as his hereditary right, and has the more immediate management of their civil affairs. This chief might with greater propriety be denominated the Sachem; whose assent is necessary in all conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of his tribe or nation.

Though these two are considered as the heads of the band, yet the Indians are sensible of neither civil or military subordination. As every one of them entertains a high opinion of his consequence, and is extremely tenacious of his liberty, all injunctions that carry with them the appearance of a positive command, are instantly rejected with scorn. If a scheme that appears to be of service to the community is proposed by the chief, every one is at liberty to choose whether he will assist in carrying it on; for they have no compulsory laws that lay them under any restrictions. If violence is committed, or blood is shed, the right of revenging these misdemeanors is left to the family of the injured; the chiefs assume neither the power of inflicting or moderating the punishment.

Each family has a right to appoint one of its chiefs to be an assistant to the principal chief. In this body,

with the hereditary chief at its head, the supreme authority appears to be lodged ; as by its determination every transaction relative to their hunting, to their making war or peace, and to all their public concerns are regulated. Next to these, the body of warriors, which comprehends all that are able to bear arms, hold their rank. They commonly assemble for counsel in a hut or tent appropriated to this purpose, and being seated in a circle on the ground, the eldest chief rises and makes a speech ; when he has concluded, another gets up, and thus they all speak, if necessary, by turns.

On this occasion their language is nervous, and their manner of expression is emphatical. Their style is adorned with images, comparisons, and strong metaphors. In all their set speeches they express themselves with much vehemence.

Their food consists of Indian corn, with the flesh of the bear, the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the beaver, and the racoon ; which are either roasted or boiled in the extreme. Those near the Pacific ocean make great use of salmon, with which their rivers abound. Those acquainted with the Europeans are extremely fond of spirituous liquors.

Dancing is a favourite exercise among the Indians ; they never meet on any public occasion, but this makes a part of the entertainment. And when they are not engaged in war or hunting, the youth of both sexes amuse themselves in this manner every evening.

The Indians have several kinds of dances, which they use on different occasions, as the Pipe or Calumet Dance, the War Dance, the Marriage Dance, and the Dance of the Sacrifice. The War Dance, which they use before they set out on the war parties ; and on their return from them, strikes terror into strangers. It is performed, as the others, amidst a circle of the warriors ; they throw themselves into every horrible and terrifying posture that can be imagined, rehearsing at the same time the parts they expect to act against their enemies in the field. To heighten the scene, they set up the same hideous yells, cries, and war-whoops, they use in the time of fighting.

Hunting is the principal occupation of the Indians ;

they are trained to it from their earliest youth, and it is an exercise which is esteemed no less honourable than necessary towards their subsistence. A dexterous and resolute hunter is held nearly in as great estimation by them as a distinguished warrior. The beasts that the Indians hunt, both for their flesh, on which they subsist, and for their skins, of which they either make their apparel, or barter with the Europeans for necessaries, are the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the moose, carribboo, the bear, the beaver, the marten, &c. The route they shall take for this purpose, and the parties that shall go on the different expeditions, are fixed in their general councils, which are held some time in the summer, when all the operations for the ensuing winter are concluded on. It is impossible to describe their agility and perseverance, whilst they are in pursuit of their prey ; and there are few beasts of the woods that they cannot overtake.

The Indians begin to bear arms at the age of fifteen, and lay them aside when they arrive at the age of sixty. In every band or nation there is a select number who are styled the warriors, and who are always ready to act either offensively or defensively, as occasion requires. These are well armed, bearing the weapons commonly in use among them, which vary according to the situation of their countries. Such as have an intercourse with the Europeans, make use of tomahawks, knives, and fire-arms ; but those whose dwellings are situated to the westward of the Mississippi, and who have not an opportunity of purchasing these kinds of weapons, use bows and arrows, and also the Casse Tete or War-Club.

The reasons the Indians give for making war against one another, are to secure the rights of hunting within particular limits, to maintain the liberty of passing through their accustomed tracks, and to guard those lands, which they consider, from a long tenure, as their own. But interest is not either the more frequent or most powerful incentive to their making war on each other. The passion of revenge, which is the distinguishing characteristic of these people, is the most general motive. Injuries are felt by them with exqui-

sensibility, and vengeance pursued with unremitting ardour. To this may be added, that natural excitation of which every Indian becomes sensible, as soon as he approaches the age of manhood, to give proofs of his valour and prowess.

When the chiefs find any occasion to declare war, they endeavour to arouse these habitudes, and by that means soon excite their warriors to take arms. To this purpose they make use of their martial eloquence, nearly in the following words, which never fails of proving effectual : “ The bones of our deceased countrymen lie uncovered, they call out to us to revenge their wrongs, and we must satisfy their request. Their spirits cry out against us. They must be appeased.—The genii, who are the guardians of our honour, inspire us with resolution to seek the enemies of our murdered brothers. Let us go and devour those by whom they were slain. Sit therefore no longer inactive, give way to the impulse of your natural valour, anoint your hair, paint your faces, fill your quivers, cause the forests to resound with your songs, console the spirits of the dead, and tell them they shall be revenged.”

Sometimes private chiefs assemble small parties, and make excursions against those with whom they are at war, or such as have injured them. A single warrior, prompted by revenge, or a desire to show his prowess, will march unattended for several hundred miles, to surprise and cut off a straggling enemy.

The Indians think there is little glory to be acquired from attacking their enemies openly in the field ; their greatest pride is to surprise and destroy. They seldom engage without a manifest appearance of advantage. If they find the enemy on their guard, too strongly entrenched, or superior in numbers, they retire, provided there is an opportunity of doing so.

When the Indians succeed in their silent approaches, and are able to force the camp which they attack, a scene of horror ensues that exceeds description. The savage fierceness of the conquerers, and the desperation of the conquered, who well know what they have to expect, should they fall alive into the hands of their

assailants, occasion the most extraordinary exertions on both sides. The figure of the combatants, all besmeared with black and red paint, and covered with the blood of the slain, their horrid yells, and ungovernable fury, are hardly to be conceived.

When they have overcome an enemy, and victory is no longer doubtful, the conquerers first despatch all such as they think they shall not be able to carry off without great trouble, and then endeavour to take as many prisoners as possible ; after this they return to scalp those who are either dead, or too much wounded to be taken with them. Having completed their purposes, they retire towards their own country, with the spoil they have acquired.

Being arrived at their village, the women and children arm themselves with sticks and bludgeons, and form themselves into two ranks, through which the prisoners are obliged to pass. The treatment they undergo before they reach the extremity of the line, is very severe. Sometimes they are so beaten over the head and face, as to have scarcely any remains of life ; and happy would it be for them if by this usage an end was put to their wretched beings. But their tormentors take care that none of the blows they give prove mortal, as they wish to reserve the miserable sufferers for more severe inflictions. After having undergone this introductory discipline, they are bound hand and foot, whilst the chiefs hold a council in which their fate is determined.

The prisoners destined to death are soon led to the place of execution, which is generally in the centre of the camp or village ; where, being stript, and every part of their bodies blackened, they are bound to a stake, with faggots placed around them. Fire is set to the pile, while their savage conquerors are insulting their misery, and using every method to increase their torture.

Notwithstanding this severity exercised by the Indians towards those who fall into their hands, some tribes of them have been remarked for their moderation to such female prisoners belonging to the English colonies, as have happened to be taken by them. Wa-

men of great beauty have frequently been carried off by them, and during a march of three or four hundred miles, through their retired forests, have lain by their sides without receiving any insult, and their chastity has remained inviolate.

The Indians have no idea of moderating the ravages of war, by sparing their prisoners, and entering into a negociation with the band from whom they have been taken, for an exchange. All that are captivated by both parties, are either put to death, adopted into their families, or made slaves.

The wars that are carried on between the Indian nations are in general hereditary, and continue from age to age with a few interruptions. But sometimes the Indians grow tired of a war which they have carried on against some neighbouring nation for many years without success, and in this case they seek for mediators to begin a negociation. These being obtained, the treaty is thus conducted.

A number of their own chiefs, joined by those who have accepted the friendly office, set out together for the country of their enemies. They bear before them the Pipe of Peace, which is of the same nature as a Flag of Truce among the Europeans, and is treated with the greatest respect and veneration, even by the most barbarous nations.

When the chiefs who are intrusted with the commission for making peace, approach the town or camp to which they are going, they begin to sing and dance the songs and dances appropriated to this occasion. By this time the adverse party are apprised of their arrival, and, at the sight of the Pipe of Peace, divesting themselves of their wonted enmity, invite them to the habitation of the Great Chief, and furnish them with every conveniency during the negociation.

A council is then held; and when the speeches and debates are ended, if no obstructions arise to put a stop to the treaty, the painted hatchet is buried in the ground, as a memorial that all animosities between the contending nations have ceased, and a peace taken place. Among the ruder bands, such as have no communication with the Europeans, a war-club, painted red, is buried instead of the hatchet.

A belt of wampum is also given on this occasion, which serves as a ratification of the peace, and records, to the latest posterity, by the hieroglyphics into which the beads are formed, every stipulated article in the treaty.

The Indians allow of polygamy, and persons of every rank indulge themselves in this point. The younger wives are submissive to the elder ; and those who have no children do such menial offices for those who are fertile, as causes their situation to differ but little from a state of servitude.

It is very difficult to attain a perfect knowledge of the religious principles of the Indians. It is certain they acknowledge one Supreme Being, or giver of life, who presides over all things. They call this Being Manitou, or Wakon, that is, the Great Spirit : and they look up to him as the source of good, from whom no evil can proceed. They also believe in a bad spirit, to whom they ascribe great power, and suppose that through his means all the evils which befall mankind are inflicted. To him therefore do they pray in their distresses, begging that he would either avert their troubles, or moderate them when they are no longer avoidable.

They hold also that there are good spirits of a lesser degree, who have their particular departments, in which they are constantly contributing to the happiness of mortals. They doubt not but they shall exist in some future state ; they however fancy that their employments there will be similar to those they are engaged in here, without the labour and difficulties annexed to them in this period of their existence.

The priests of the Indians are at the same time their physicians, and their conjurers ; whilst they heal their wounds, or cure their diseases, they interpret their dreams, give them protecting charms, and satisfy that desire which is so prevalent among men of searching into futurity.

The Indians in general are healthy, and subject but to few diseases ; many of those that afflict civilized nations, and are the immediate consequences of luxury or sloth, not being known among them. Pains and weak-

nesses in the stomach and breast are sometimes the result of their long fasting, and consumptions of the excessive fatigue and violent exercises they expose themselves to from their infancy, before they have sufficient strength to support them. But the disorder to which they are most subject is the pleurisy ; for the removal of which, they apply their grand remedy and preservative against the generality of their complaints, sweating. But they never trust to medicines alone ; they always have recourse likewise to some superstitious ceremonies, without which their patient would not think the physical preparations sufficiently powerful.

An Indian meets death, when it approaches him in his hut, with the same resolution he had often faced him in the field. His indifference relative to this important article, which is the source of so many apprehensions to almost every other nation, is truly admirable. When his fate is pronounced by his physician, and it remains no longer uncertain, he harangues those about him with the greatest composure. He then takes leave of his friends, and issues out orders for the preparation of a feast, which is designed to regale those of his tribe that come to pronounce his eulogium.

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore whilst living, his face is painted, and seated in an erect posture on a mat or skin, placed in the middle of his hut, with his weapons by his side. His relations being seated around, each harangues in turn the deceased ; and if he has been a great warrior, recounts his heroic actions, which in the Indian language is extremely poetic and pleasing.

As the Indians believe that the souls of the deceased employ themselves in the same manner in the country of spirits, as they did on earth, that they acquire their food by hunting, and have there also, enemies to contend with, they take care that they do not enter those regions defenceless and unprovided : they consequently bury them with their bows, their arrows, and all the other weapons used either in hunting or war. As they doubt not but they will likewise have occasion both for the necessaries and those things they esteem as ornaments, of life, they usually deposit in their

tombs such skins or stuffs as they commonly made their garments of, domestic utensils, and paints for ornamenting their persons.

The near relations of the deceased lament his loss with an appearance of great sorrow and anguish; they will weep and howl, and make use of many contortions, as they sit in the hut or tent around the body, when the intervals between the praises of the chiefs will permit.

The Indians are of a cruel, revengeful, and inexorable disposition, they will watch whole days, unmindful of the calls of nature, and make their way through pathless, and almost unbounded woods, subsisting only on the scanty produce of them, to pursue and revenge themselves of an enemy. They hear unmoved the piercing cries of those who unhappily fall into their hands, and receive a diabolical pleasure from the tortures they inflict on their prisoners. But they are likewise social and humane to those whom they consider as their friends, and even to their adopted enemies; and ready to partake with them of the last morsel, or to risk their lives in their defence.

These remarks are in some degree applicable to all the Indian tribes; but more particularly to those in North America. The natives of Mexico and Peru, had made greater advances in civilization and the arts, than those in other parts. A numerous people were united under a regular government, subject to one sovereign; the inhabitants collected in cities, the laws established, and the authority of religion recognized; the right of private property was understood, and a form of police established. Many of the arts essential to life were brought to some degree of maturity, and the dawn of such as were ornamental were beginning to appear. But they were still much inferior to the nations of the old continent. They were unacquainted with the useful metals, and had made but little progress in subduing the animal creation.

The Mexicans were continually engaged in war, and sought to gratify their vengeance by shedding the blood of their enemies. No prisoner was ever spared, but their flesh devoured with barbarous joy.

The Peruvians were more civilized ; their wars were less fierce, their agriculture more perfect : they had constructed public roads, and were the most improved of all the Indians.

The true savage is a cold, sullen, cruel, suspicious, and designing animal. Man grows generous exactly as he grows civilized ; and christianity, when its precepts are obeyed, completes the civilization of man.

The next enquiry that merits attention, is, How was America peopled ? When the Europeans found the new world to be removed at a vast distance from every part of the ancient continent then known, and filled with inhabitants so remarkably different from the rest of mankind ; the opinion concerning their origin became naturally an object of attention. Many fanciful theories and speculations were formed on the subject. The question is necessarily involved in obscurity. But from the progress of navigation, considerable light is thrown on the subject. It appears by the discoveries of the Russians, and particularly by the voyages of Captain Cook, that the north-west parts of America, are separated from Asia, only by a narrow strait. From many circumstances it appears evident, that some tribes of the Tartars, either from their restless disposition, or being driven from their country by a victorious enemy, passed over to America. And it is remarkable, that all the Americans, except the Esquimaux, on the north-east coast, seem of one race ; and strongly resemble the rude tribes of the north of Asia. The Esquimaux are of a different original, and seem to have come from Greenland, on the north-west part of Europe, which is separated from America only by a narrow sea.—The Mexicans and Peruvians probably came from the eastern islands of Asia, as they have some resemblance of the people there, and retain a similarity of custom. The similarity discovered by the late traveller, Mr. Humboldt, in the remains of the Mexican temples, with those of the old world, is striking. The pyramids are constructed like those of Egypt. They had hieroglyphic pictures, painted on cotton cloth, on skins, and on the leaves of the Agave, a plant

prepared as the Egyptians did the Papyrus. But it is certain, that America in general was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent, that had made any progress in civilization ; for if they had been once acquainted with the use of iron, the plough, or loom, it seems impossible that those useful inventions should ever have been forgotten.

The discoveries that have lately been made in various parts of the Indian country, of ancient fortifications, and of rude essays of engraving upon the rocks, make it probable, that the country was once inhabited by a race of men, superior in arts and ingenuity to the present inhabitants. But no discovery has been yet made by whom, or at what time, these works of labour and skill were performed.

THE END

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

*Of the most Remarkable Events concerning America, to
the Year 1813.*

- 1492 Aug. 3, Christopher Columbus* sailed from Palos in Spain.
Sept. 14, He first observed the variation of the needle.
Oct. 12, O. S. 23, N. S. Columbus discovered Guanahana,
now Cat Island, one of the Bahamas.
Oct. 27, O. S. Columbus discovered Cuba.
Dec. 6, O. S. Columbus discovered Hayti, which he called
Hispaniola, or little Spain.
- 1493 Columbus built a fort at Navidad in Hayti, where he left 3
officers and 38 men, and sailed to Spain.
Sept. 25, Second Voyage of Columbus.
Dec. Columbus built Isabella on the north side of Hayti.
- 1494 May 4, Columbus discovered Porto Rico and Jamaica.
- 1494-5 John Cabot, a Venetian by birth, but residing at Bristol,
in England, sailed under a commission from Henry VII.
and discovered Prima Vista, or Newfoundland.
- 1496 March, Columbus returned to Spain.
Tobacco first discovered at St. Domingo.
- 1497 or 98 June 11, O. S. [22.] Sebastian Cabot sailed to America,
discovered the land afterwards named Labrador, and
ranged along the coast to Florida—He was the first discoverer
of the American continent.
- 1498 May 30, Columbus sailed from Spain on his third voyage.
July 31, Columbus discovered Trinidad.
August 1, He discovered the continent, now Terra Firma.
- 1499 May 20, Ojeda, who was with Columbus in his first voyage,
accompanied by Amerigo Vespuccius, a Florentine, sailed
from Spain, and in June discovered the continent of
South America, and Amerigo had the address to give
the continent his name.
- 1500 Aug. 23. Bovadilla, appointed governor of America, sent
Columbus to Spain in chains.
- 1502 June 8, Columbus acquitted, and sailed on his fourth voyage.
June 29, Columbus arrived at Hayti.
Aug. to Nov. Columbus sailed to the continent, discovered
the bay of Honduras, and named Porto Bello.
- 1503 Columbus shipwrecked on Jamaica.
- 1504 Sept. 2, Columbus relieved, after being almost a year on Jamaica,
arrived at Hayti, and sailed for Spain.
- 1506 May 20th, Columbus died at Valladolid, aged 58.
- 1508 Africans first introduced into Hayti for slaves.

* His real name was Christoval Colon, which was Latinized into Christopher Columbus.

- 1512 John Ponce de Leon discovered and named Florida, from its being discovered on Easter Day, or feast of flowers.
- 1539 Ferdinand de Soto landed in Florida with 900 men.
- 1542 May 24, He penetrated to the Chicasaw country, crossed the Mississippi, where he died.
- 1543 The remains of his men arrived in Mexico.
- 1544 Orellana entered the river Amazon, and descended to its mouth.
- 1560 Tobacco introduced from America into France, by Nicot.
- 1562 John Ribaud, a French protestant, settled in Carolina, and built Fort Caroline, near the Edisto.
- 1563 John Hawkins began the slave trade of the English.
- 1565 Ribaud sailed to Florida, took part of the men from fort Caroline to oppose a Spanish fleet; Melandez, a Spanish officer, arrived, massacred most of the French, and garrisoned the place with Spaniards.
- 1568 Gourgé, a Gascon, sailed to Florida, massacred the Spaniards, and Florida was abandoned.
- 1576 M. Frobisher attempted to find a North West passage, discovered the strait of his name.
- 1583 Tobacco introduced into England from America, by governor Lane.
- 1584 July, Amidas and Barlow, by order of Sir Walter Raleigh, landed on Wocokon and Roanoke. On their return, the queen gave to the country the name of Virginia; though the places where they landed are now in North Carolina.
- 1585 Aug. Sir Walter Raleigh sent Sir R. Grenville, with seven vessels, to settle Virginia—a small colony left at Roanoke under Governor Lane.
- Capt. John Davis sailed to the strait of his name.
- 1586 Governor Lane and the colony return to England with Sir F. Drake, who had been on an expedition against the Spanish settlements in America.
- Sir R. Grenville left a second colony at Roanoke, which was destroyed by the natives.
- 1587 J. Davis, in his third voyage, discovered and named Cumberland islands.
- A third colony under Governor White left at Roanoke.
- Governor White returned to England for supplies.
- 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold came to America, named Cape Cod, landed on Cuttahunk, and began to build, but returned.
- Samuel Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence.
- 1604-5 The Sieur de Mont, with Champlain for a pilot, explored the coast of Acadia, entered the bay of Fundy, named the river Wegondy, St. John, built a fort, and passed the winter on St. Croix, an island in the Scooduc.
- 1605 De Mont settled Port Royal, now Annapolis, the first settlement in Nova Scotia.
- 1606 April 10, Virginia divided, and by letters patent, the southern part was granted to Sir Thomas Gates and others, called the London Company, the northern part to the Plymouth Company.

- 1607 April 26, Captain Newport arrived in Virginia, and began the first effectual settlement on the river Powhatan, [James] called James Town.
- 1608 Captain Smith first explored the Chesapeake.
Quebec founded by Samuel Champlain.
Mr. Robinson's church emigrate to Holland.
- 1609 May 23, Second charter of Virginia to the earl of Salisbury and others.
Captain Hudson discovered the river Manhattan, now called by his name.
- 1610 Newfoundland settled under J. Guy, Governor.
- 1610-11 Captain Hudson discovered the bay which bears his name, his crew mutinied and set him afloat in an open boat, and he perished.
- 1611 Champlain discovered and named Lake Champlain.
- 1612 March 12, Third charter of Virginia extended to include Bermuda, 300 leagues to sea.
- 1613 April, J. Rolfe married Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan.
- 1614 Captain Smith made a fishing voyage to the northern part of America—drew a chart of the coast, which he presented to Prince Charles, who gave the country the name of New England.
A fort or trading house built on the Hudson near Albany by the Dutch.
The Dutch lay claim to the discoveries of Hudson, and settle Manhattan island, now New York.
- 1616 W. Baffin discovered the bay of his name.
- 1618 Great pestilence or yellow fever destroyed most of the Indians from Narraganset to Penobscot.
- 1619 Captain Dermer the first Englishman who sailed through Long Island sound and Hellgate.
June 19, First colonial assembly in Virginia.
- 1620 Nov. 23, Charter of New England granted to the Duke of Lennox and others, or council of Plymouth.
Mr. Robinson's people left Holland, in July, and England in Sept. for America, arrived in Nov. and landed at Plymouth on Dec. 11, O. S. 22 N. S.
- 1621 First cultivation of maize, or Indian corn.
- 1622 March 22, The Indians massacred 349 of the Virginians.
- 1623 First settlement of New Hampshire at Little Harbor on the Pascataway and at Dover.
- 1624 The first cattle brought into New England.
Cape Ann settled.
The Virginia Company dissolved, and their charter resumed by the crown.
- 1627 Delaware settled by Swedes and Finns.
- 1628 March 19, Grant of Massachusetts from the council of Plymouth, to Sir Henry Roswell and others
Naumkeag, now Salem, settled by Governor John Endicot.
- 1629 May 4, Charter from the crown confirming the Plymouth grant, and erecting the Massachusetts company into a corporation. Matthew Cradock the first governor.

- 1629 Oct. 30, Carolina granted to Sir Robert Heath.
- 1630 Boston, (so named from respect to Mr. Cotton, minister of Boston in England,) settled by Governor Winthrop and others.
Jan. 13, Patent to Plymouth colony from the council of Plymouth to governor Bradford and associates.
- 1631 Feb. 29, The council of Plymouth granted lands to settlers on Pemaquid.
March 19, Patent of Connecticut from the Earl of Warwick.
July 4, First vessel built in Massachusetts, called the Blessing of the Bay, was launched.
- 1632 June 20, Grant of Maryland to lord Baltimore. The first colony which was erected into a province of the British empire, and governed by its own laws.
- 1633 The Dutch built a fort on the west bank of the Connecticut, in the present town of Hartford.
- 1634 May, The first representative assembly of Massachusetts.
Oct. The Plymouth people, after the Dutch, erected a trading house on the west bank of the Connecticut, in the present town of Windsor.
First settlement in Maryland at St. Mary's, under Lord Baltimore, whose expenditure was 40,000 pounds.
June 11, The council of Plymouth surrendered their charter to the crown.
- 1634-5 Wethersfield, the oldest town in Connecticut, settled by people from Watertown, (Mass.)
July, Windsor settled by people from Dorchester.
Nov. Saybrook settled by J. Winthrop's men.
- 1635-6 Sukeeg settled by Mr. Hooker and his congregation from Newtown, Cambridge, (Mass.) and called Hartford.
- 1636 R. Williams settled Mooshawsick, and named it Providence. Antinomianism first broached in New England, by Mrs. Hutchinson.
First assembly in Maryland.
- 1637 May 26, The Pequots destroyed by Connecticut.
March 24, Rhode Island settled by Mr. Coddington.
- 1638 Jan. 25, First Assembly in Maryland convened.
June 1, Great earthquake in New England.
April, New Haven settled by Mr. Davenport, and others.
Harvard college at Cambridge, Massachusetts, founded.
- 1639 Newport settled by John Clark and his friends.
April 3, Maine granted to Sir Fernando Gorges.
First printing press established at Cambridge, (Mass.)
Jan. 14, Original constitution of Connecticut established.
A code of laws first enacted in Massachusetts.
- 1640 Emigration from Britain to New England closed. In 298 vessels, which had arrived since the beginning of the colony, were 21,200 passengers. The cost of this transportation was 192,000 pounds sterling.
- 1641 April 14, New Hampshire united with Massachusetts.
- 1643 Confederation of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven for defence.

- Oct. 28, The Gospel first preached to the Indians.
- 1647 May 19, First assembly of Rhode Island convened, who agreed upon a body of laws.
First influenza mentioned in American annals.
- 1648 Massachusetts laws first published.
Cambridge ecclesiastical platform composed and adopted.
- 1656 Captain Miles Standish, the Washington of the day, died, aged 70.
- 1661 Translation of the New Testament into Indian by Mr. Elliot, finished and printed.
- 1662 April 23, Charles II. granted a charter to Connecticut, incorporating N. Haven with it. The present constitution.
June 28, Charles II. confirmed the charter of Massachusetts by letter.
July 8, Charter granted to Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, which is their present constitution.
- 1663 Jan. 26, A great earthquake in Canada and New England.
March 24, Grant of Carolina, to the Earl of Clarendon and seven others.
First settlement in North Carolina on Chowan, about the middle of this century.
- 1646 March 12, New Netherlands taken from the Dutch, granted to the Duke of York, by patent, and called New-York.
Mr. Elliot's Indian Bible completed and printed.
Fort Orange taken, and called Albany.
June 24, The Duke of York released, to lord Berkeley and Sir G. Carteret, the territory now New Jersey.
Decem. New Haven consented to a union with Connecticut.
- 1665 June 13, Grant of North Carolina, enlarged by a new charter.
Sir J. Yeamans settled on the southern banks of Cape Fear river, with a colony from Barbadoes.
- 1666 First colonial Assembly of the settlers at Chowan, now North Carolina, mentioned on record.
- 1667 New York and New Jersey settled.
June, The British parliament pass an act prohibiting any slitting mill or forge, or any iron works in America.
- 1668 Massachusetts resumed the government of Maine.
- 1669 First assembly in North Carolina.
- 1670 Captain Sayle with a colony began a plantation at Port Royal in Carolina, where he died.
- 1671 Captain Sayle's colony removed, and began a settlement on the bank of Ashley river under Sir J. Yeamans, which was called old Charleston.
- 1673 Fort Frontenac built, Marquet and Joliet sail down the Mississippi.
New York taken by the Dutch.
- 1674 New York restored and confirmed to the English by treaty.
Connecticut laws revised.
- 1675 Connecticut laws first printed by Mr. Green at Cambridge.
Indian war in New England under Philip.
- 1676 Aug. 12, War ceased by the death of Philip.

- Nov. 27, Great fire in Boston burnt 45 houses.
- 1676-7 Insurrection in Virginia, Jamestown burnt by the insurgents, death of Bacon, their leader.
- 1679 New Hampshire erected into a royal government.
- 1680 The inhabitants of captain Sayle's colony removed, and began the town now called Charleston.
- 1681 March 4, Charter of Pennsylvania to William Penn.
Dec. 4, First Assembly in the province at Chester.
- 1682 Aug. 21, Duke of York's deed of Pennsylvania to W. Penn.
Aug. 24, The Duke of York's deed of a tract of twelve miles from New Castle to the Hoarkills.
Oct. First settlement of Philadelphia.
Dec. 6, Act of union annexing the Delaware counties to the Pennsylvania act of settlement.
- 1683 Oct. 25, Most part of the town of Boston burnt.
- 1684 Charters of Massachusetts and Rhode Island vacated.
- 1686 Albany incorporated.
Port Royal in Carolina broke up by the Spaniards.
The first Episcopal church in New England formed at Boston.
April 22, A charter given to New York, by Governor Dongan; 1730 Jan. 15, enlarged and confirmed; 1732 Oct. 14, enlarged and confirmed again.
- 1687 Process issued against Connecticut charter in 1685, but the charter was hid from Andros in a hollow oak, and saved.
- 1689 Andros seized, deposed, and sent to England.
- 1690 Oct. and Nov. Expedition to Quebec failed.
First bills of credit issued by Massachusetts.
Feb. 8, Schenectady burnt by the French and Indians, and its inhabitants slain or scattered.
The first paper money issued by Massachusetts.
- 1691 First legislature in Virginia.
- 1692 Sept. 22, Eight persons executed as witches in Boston.
Oct. 7, Massachusetts obtained a new charter, by which Plymouth was annexed to that colony.
- 1692-3 Mild winter, vessels went to Albany in February.
- 1693 William and Mary college, in Virginia, founded.
- 1697 Severe winter, loaded sleds passed on the ice from Boston to Nantasket, and on the Delaware.
- 1699 Fatal yellow fever in Philadelphia.
Charleston, S. C. depopulated by a tempest and inundation, followed by small pox and yellow fever, a great part of the town burnt.
- 1700 A library established in Charleston, S. C.
Oct. 25, Charter of Philadelphia.
Oct. 28, Charter of privileges for Pennsylvania.
The culture of silk and cotton introduced into Carolina about this time.
- 1701 Yale college, in Connecticut, founded.
- 1702 Pestilential yellow fever in New York.
Rice introduced into Carolina from Madagascar.

- 1704 Feb. 28, Deerfield burnt by the Indians, and the inhabitants slain, taken captives, or dispersed.
 April 24, First newspaper in America printed at Boston, called the News Letter.
- 1707 Expedition by the New Englanders against Port Royal failed.
- 1709 A projected invasion of Canada failed, no naval force arrived, and Nicholson's troops at Wood Creek becoming sickly, returned.
 First printing-press in Connecticut.
- 1710 Oct. 2, Port Royal taken by General Nicholson, and its name changed to Annapolis.
 Post office in America first established.
- 1711 May 1, Congress of governors at New London to consult on an expedition to Canada.
 August, An expedition against Quebec failed by the shipwreck of transports in the St. Lawrence.
 Great fire in Boston burnt 174 houses, and 175 stores.
- 1712 The Tuscaroras attacked North Carolina, defeated by col. Barnwell, migrated to the five nations, and formed a sixth tribe.
 Iron began to be manufactured in Virginia.
 Spanish invasion of South Carolina defeated.
- 1715 Conspiracy and invasion of the Yamasses defeated by Gov. Craven, and the Carolinians.
- 1716 Oct. 21, Unusual dark day.
 Nov. 28, Mississippi trade began.
- 1717 Feb. The greatest snow storm ever known, snow several feet deep.
- 1718 William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania died, aged 74.
- 1719 Combination against the proprietary government in Carolina, and a revolution.
 Dec. 11, Northern lights, which had disappeared for almost a century, appeared in New England.
 Dec. 22, First newspaper in Philadelphia called the American Weekly Mercury, by William Bradford.
- 1720 June 27, Mississippi bubble burst, its amount being 100,000,000 pounds sterling.
- 1721 Epidemic small-pox in Boston—inoculation first introduced by Dr. Zabdiel Boyeston, at the recommendation of Dr. Cotton Mather, and met with great opposition.
- 1724 Vermont first settled
- 1725 Oct. 16, First newspaper in New York, called the New York Gazette, by William Bradford.
- 1726 Printing introduced into Virginia by Wm. Parks.
- 1727 Oct. 29, O. S. Violent earthquake follows a dry summer.
- 1728 A tempest in Carolina inundated the low lands, drove the people into their upper rooms—the pestilential fever raged in Charleston.
 The proprietors of Carolina, except one, sold their property to the crown; the country was divided into North and South Carolina, and both became royal governments.

- 1730 The first newspaper in South Carolina printed.
- 1732 Feb. 22, G. Washington born in Westmoreland county, Vir.
 The Bible in Quarto first printed in the English colonies by
 Sam. Green, Boston—secretly, as it was contrary to law.
 Aug. 9, Unusual dark day.
 Oct. First newspaper in Rhode Island, called the Rhode Is-
 land Gazette.
- 1733 Settlement at Savannah, Georgia, by General Oglethorpe.
- 1735 July, Origin of Free Masonry in America
- 1737 Insurrection of the slaves in South Carolina.
- 1739 The Land Bank first commenced in New England.
- 1741-2 Very severe winter.
- 1742 Spanish invasion of Georgia failed.
 The library company of Philadelphia incorporated. This
 company was formed in 1651, and in 1776 received the
 Loganian Library.
- 1743 A large comet appeared in December.
- 1745 June 17, Lewisburg surrendered to the New England troops
 aided by an English squadron.
 Indigo plant discovered in South Carolina.
- 1746 French expedition under D'Anville, which menaced New
 England, failed by means of a storm, contagious fever in
 the fleet, &c.
 Nassau Hall, New Jersey, founded.
- 1747 Riots in Boston in opposition to an impressment of seamen.
 A library at Newport founded by A. Redwood.
 Dec. 23, Boston sustained a loss by fire of its court-house
 and records.
- 1751 Feb. 7, Pennsylvania hospital founded, and established by
 the Assembly.
- 1752 Sept. A tempest laid Charleston under water.
 The proprietors of Georgia surrendered their charter, and
 the colony became a royal government.
- 1753 The French began to erect forts on the waters of Lake
 Erie and the Ohio.
 Sept. 15, Charleston, S. C. destroyed by a hurricane.
 Nov. Major Washington sent by Governor Dinwiddie of
 Virginia, to require the French to withdraw.
 College in Philadelphia founded.
- 1754 July, Plan of a union of the colonies, proposed by Dr.
 Franklin, and agreed upon at Albany by commissioners,
 —but not sanctioned by the crown.
 The French erect fort Du Quesne, where Pittsburg now
 stands.
 The French surprised and defeated by colonel Washington
 at the Great Meadows.
 July 4, Colonel Washington and his troops, 400 in number,
 in fort Necessity surrendered to the French.
 New York college founded.
- 1754-5 and 1755-6 Remarkably mild winters.

- 1755 January, First newspaper in Connecticut, New Haven, called the Connecticut Gazette, by James Parker.
 March, Colonel Washington appointed aid-de-camp to General Braddock.
 June, General Winslow, with the Massachusetts troops, took possession of Nova Scotia, and the French inhabitants called Neutrals were transplanted, and their houses destroyed.
 July 9, General Edward Braddock defeated and killed at Monongahela.
 Sept. 8, French under Dieskau repulsed by General Johnston, at Lake George.
 Nov. 18, Great earthquake through New England.
- 1756 May 18, War declared against France.
 Oswego capitulated to the French general Montcalm.
 First newspaper in New Hampshire.
- 1757 Fort William Henry capitulated to the French.
- 1758 June, Lewisburg taken by the British.
 July, General Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga with the loss of 1800 men, and Lord Howe killed.
 Aug. Fort Frontenac taken by colonel Bradstreet.
 Nov. Fort Du Quesne, now Fort Pitt, abandoned by the French, and taken by the English.
- 1759 July 27, and Aug. 4, Ticonderoga and Crown Point evacuated by the French, and taken by General Amherst.
 July 25, The French repulsed before Oswego, by colonel Haldiman.
 July 25, Niagara taken by the English, with the loss of their General, Prideaux, killed.
 Sept. 13, Battle of Quebec, General Wolfe and Montcalm killed, French defeated, and Quebec capitulated.
- 1760 March 20, One part of Charleston burnt.
 Sept. 8, Montreal capitulated to the English.
- 1761 Seamen's quadrants invented by Godfrey of Philadelphia.
 Battle of Etchoe with the Cherokees.
 June, The Cherokees defeated by col. Galt, and compelled to make peace.
- 1762 The severest drought ever known in America, no rain from May to September.
 First newspaper printed in Providence.
 Oct. 19, Unusual dark day at Detroit.
- 1763 Feb. 10, Definitive treaty of peace signed at Paris.
- 1764 Bennington, the oldest town in Vermont, settled.
 Medical Lectures first read in Philadelphia.
 Brown college, in Providence, founded.
- 1765 First settlement in Tennessee.
- 1765 March 22, Stamp Act received the Royal assent.
 Oct. Delegates from most of the colonies met at York to remonstrate against the stamp act and petition for its repeal.

- 1766 May 18, Stamp act repealed.
- 1767 June, An Act imposing a duty on tea, glass, and painter's colours imported into the colonies.
- 1768 Sept. Two British regiments arrive at Boston.
- 1769 Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, founded.
American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia, instituted.
Aug. 8, Great fire in Boston burnt 80 houses, 70 stores, &c.
- 1770 March 5, Riot in Boston, the British troops fired upon the inhabitants and killed four.
- 1771 Insurrection in North Carolina.
- 1773 Dec. 16, The tea belonging to the East India Company thrown overboard at Boston.
Kentucky first settled by colonel Boon.
- 1774 March, An act to shut up the port of Boston.
Sept 4. First congress convened at Philadelphia.
Hampton Sidney college, in Virginia, founded.
- 1775 April 19, Battle at Lexington began the revolutionary war.
May 10, Second Congress meet.
May 10, Ticonderoga siezed by colonels Allen and Arnold.
May 15, Crown Point surrendered to the Americans.
June 15, George Washington appointed commander in chief of the army.
June 17, Battle on Breed's (Bunker's) hill, General Warren killed, and Charleston burnt by the British.
Paper money issued by Congress.
July 2, George Washington took the command of the troops investing Boston.
Oct. 18, Falmouth burnt by the British.
Nov. General Montgomery penetrated into Canada, took fort Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal.
Colonel Arnold, with 3000 infantry, entered Canada by the way of Kennebec.
Dec. 9, Battle of Great Bridge, Virginia.
Dec. 31, Assault upon Quebec, the Americans defeated, and Major Gen. Richard Montgomery killed, aged 38.
Quebec blockaded by General Thomas.
- 1776 Jan. 1st, Norfolk and Portsmouth burnt by the British.
Feb. 17, Tories in North Carolina, defeated.
March 17, Boston evacuated by the British.
April 14, General Washington arrived at New York.
May, A body of Americans at the Cedars surrendered.
June 14, Battle of Three Rivers.
June 25, The British fleet and army arrived at Sandy Hook.
June 28, The British fleet, under Admiral Parker, repulsed at Sullivan's Island, and driven from Charleston harbour.
The Americans expelled from Canada.
July 4, DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
July 2, The British army landed on Staten Island.
July 8, Dunmore driven from Virginia.
July 12, Lord Howe arrived at Staten Island.
Great fire in New York.

- August 27, Battle on Long Island, Americans defeated.
 August 28, The troops withdrawn from Long Island.
 Sept. 14, New York evacuated by the American army.
 Oct. 12, General Arnold defeated on Lake Champlain.
 Oct. 28, Battle at the White Plains.
 Nov. 16, Fort Washington, with 2000 prisoners, taken.
 Nov. and Dec. American army retreated through New Jersey, and cross the Delaware.
 Dec. 15, General Lee made prisoner.
 Dec. 26, 900 Hessians attacked and made prisoners at Trenton, by General Washington's army.
- 1777** January 2, Cannonade at Trenton.
 Jan. 3, Battle at Princeton, General Mercer killed.
 Jan. 16, A convention declared Vermont to be an independent state.
 April 27, British burn the stores at Danbury, General Wooster killed.
 June 30, British evacuate New Jersey.
 July 2, Ticonderoga evacuated by General St. Clair.
 July 7, Battle of Skenesborough.
 Aug. 16, Battle of Bennington gained by gen. Stark.
 Sept. 11, Battle of Brandywine.
 Sept. 20, Massacre near the Paoli.
 Sept. 26, Philadelphia taken by general Howe.
 Oct. 4, Battle of Germantown, General Nash killed.
 October 16, Esopus, with great quantities of stores, burnt.
 Oct. 17, Burgoyne surrendered to Gen. Gates, at Saratoga.
 October 20, Hessians defeated at Red-bank.
- 1778** Feb. 6, Treaty with France.
 June 18, Philadelphia evacuated by the British.
 June 28, Battle of Monmouth.
 June 30, General Lee arrested, tried, and suspended for one year.
 July 1, The inhabitants of Wyoming butchered by the English and Indians.
 July 8, D'Estaing's fleet arrived.
 August 6, Sieur Gerard, the first ambassador from France to the United States, arrived.
 August 29, Battle on Rhode Island, Americans retreat.
 Dec. 23, Georgia invaded, and Savannah taken by the British under colonel Campbell.
- 1779** March 3, General Ash surprised and defeated at Briar creek, by the British, under colonel Prevost.
 May, Suffolk, in Virginia, destroyed by the British forces.
 June 20, Americans repulsed in an attempt against colonel Prevost, at Stono Ferry.
 June, The Spaniards unite with France and America against Britain.
 July 5, Gen. Tryon invaded N. Haven, destroyed the stores.
 July 9, General Tryon burnt Fairfield.

- July 12, General Tryon burnt Norwalk.
 July 15, Stony Point taken by assault by General Wayne.
 July 30, American fleet totally destroyed off Penobscot.
 Sept. 23, Victory gained by Paul Jones, over the British ship Serapis.
 Oct. 9, Assault upon Savannah, by the Americans and French, unsuccessful, Pulaski killed.
 Sullivan wastes the Indian country.
 University of Pennsylvania founded by the legislature.
 Rhode Island evacuated by the British.
 1779-80 The winter the most rigorous ever known in America.
 Long-Island sound was covered with ice, and the Chesapeake was passed with loaded carriages at Annapolis.
 1780 May 12, General Lincoln capitulated, and Charleston surrendered.
 May 16, Very dark day over the New England states.
 July 10, A French fleet and army under Rochambeau arrived at Newport, Rhode Island.
 Aug. 16, Americans defeated at Camden.
 Sept. 25, General Arnold's treason discovered, he escaped.
 October, Battle of King's Mountain.
 Oct. 2, Major Andre executed.
 Oct. 2 and 11, Great hurricane in the West Indies; in Barbadoes alone 5 or 6000 persons perished.
 American Academy, in Massachusetts, instituted.
 December 3, General Greene superseded Gates in the command of the southern army.
 Law of Pennsylvania for the gradual abolition of slavery.
 The Bank of North America, the first in the Union, incorporated in Philadelphia.
 1781 January 1, Pennsylvania line revolt.
 Jan. 5, Richmond destroyed by Arnold.
 Jan. 17, British defeated at Cowpens, by General Morgan.
 Feb. Confederation completed by the ratification of Maryland.
 March 15, Battle of Guilford, Americans repulsed.
 April 25, Second battle of Camden, Americans defeated.
 British evacuate and burn Camden.
 April 26, Petersburg and its shipping destroyed by Phillips and Arnold.
 May, Congress money ceased to circulate.
 June 20, Siege of Ninety-six raised.
 Aug. 12, The combined armies, under General Washington, decamp from the Hudson, and march for Virginia.
 August 30, De Grasse's fleet arrived.
 Sept. 8, Battle at Eutaw springs, victory of General Green.
 Sept. 13, New London burnt, Fort Griswold stormed, and the garrison put to the sword by Arnold.
 Sept. 25, Lord Cornwallis and the British army besieged in Yorktown.

- Oct 19, The British army surrendered to General Washington, which decided the revolutionary contest.
- 1782 Washington college, Maryland, founded.
 May 11, Battle near Savannah, Americans victorious.
 July 11, Savannah evacuated by the British.
 October 2, General Lee died at Philadelphia.
 Oct. 8, Treaty with Holland.
 Nov. 30, Preliminary treaty of peace with Great Britain ratified.
 December 14, Charleston evacuated by the British.
- 1783 April 3, Treaty with Sweden.
 Dickinson college, Carlisle, (Penn.) founded.
 Sept 3, Definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain.
 Oct. 18, The American army disbanded.
 Nov. 2, Farewell address of General Washington to the army.
 Nov. 25, New York evacuated by the British army.
 Dec. 23, General Washington resigned his commission.
- 1783-4 Severe winter, great floods in the rivers in March.
- 1784 Museum established at Philadelphia, by Charles Peale.
 St. John's college at Annapolis, Maryland, founded.
 May, Anthony Benezet, the celebrated philanthropist, of Philadelphia, died, aged 72.
 Dec. Mr. James Madison moved, in the house of delegates of Virginia, to appoint commissioners to meet commissioners of the other states, to form commercial regulations, which gave rise to the convention which formed the present constitution of the United States.
- 1785 Sept. 10, Treaty with Prussia.
 Cokesbury college, in Abington, Maryland, founded.
 University in Georgia, founded.
 Oct. 9th, 15th, and 16th, Very dark days in Canada.
 General James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, died, aged 97.
- 1786 Aug. Insurrection under Daniel Shays, in Massachusetts.
 Sept, 14, Commissioners met at Annapolis, but adjourned to meet at Philadelphia, May 25, 1787.
 Two settlements made in the Western Territory.
- 1787 Sept. 17, Delegates, with more ample powers, agreed upon the present constitution, at Philadelphia.
 Franklin college, at Lancaster, (Penn.) founded.
 April 24, One hundred buildings burnt in Boston.
 First newspaper in Kentucky.
- 1788 March 19, A great fire in New Orleans, which destroyed seven-eighths of its houses.
- 1789 April 30, First meeting of Congress under the present constitution at New York, General Washington inaugurated first President, and John Adams Vice-President.
 Tennessee ceded to the United States by North Carolina.
 University in North Carolina, founded.
 College in Georgetown, Maryland, founded.

- Oct. 29, Unusual dark day in Kentucky.
- 1790 April 17, Dr. Franklin died, aged 85.
 May 29, Brigadier General Israel Putnam died, aged 72.
 September 30, General Harmar defeated by the Indians.
 Dec. 6, Kentucky erected into an independent state.
 Tennessee erected into a territorial government.
 First census of the United States 3,929,328.
- 1791 Feb. 18, Vermont admitted into the union.
 March 3, Congress established a mint at Philadelphia.
 March 3, Bank of the United States incorporated, capital ten millions of dollars.
 November 4, St. Clair defeated by the Indians.
 Washington city founded.
 University of Burlington, Vermont, founded.
 Massachusetts Historical Society instituted.
- 1792 June 1, Kentucky admitted into the union.
 Henry Laurens, president of Congress, died, aged 70 ; having ordered his body to be burnt.
 Lieutenant general John Burgoyne, died.
- 1793 March 4, George Washington unanimously re-elected president, and John Adams vice-president.
 April 22, Proclamation of neutrality by the President.
 June 20, Cape Francois burnt, and the white inhabitants massacred by the blacks.
 Slavery abolished in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.
 Yellow Fever in Philadelphia.
- 1794 May 17, A remarkable frost.
 July 30, Fire in Boston burnt 96 buildings, loss \$1,200,000.
 August, Western Insurrection of Pennsylvania.
 August 20, General Wayne defeats the Indians.
 Nov. 19, Treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain.
 College at Grenville, Tennessee, founded.
 Union college, at Schenectady, founded.
 Bowdoin college, in Maine, founded.
 December 8, A fire in New-Orleans consumed 400 houses.
- 1795 General Wayne's treaty with the hostile Indians.
 College at Winnesbury and Beaufort, S. Carolina, founded.
- 1796 June 1, Tennessee admitted into the union.
 June 20, 300 houses in Charleston, S. C. destroyed by fire.
 June 26, David Rittenhouse, the self-educated philosopher, died, aged 65.
 Sept. 17, General Washington's address to the people of the United States on his retiring from the Presidency.
 Dec. 9, A square in New York burnt.
 Dec. 26, Most of Savannah burnt.
- 1797 March 4, John Adams chosen president, and Thomas Jefferson vice-president.
- 1798 Fracas in Congress between Roger Griswold and Matthew Lyon.

- Transylvania college, at Lexington, (Ken.) founded.
 July 7, Congress passed an act declaring the treaty with France null and void.
 Oct. 31, Most of Wilmington, (N. C.) burnt.
 Nov. 22, Fire in Richmond.
- 1799 Feb. 10, Captain Truxton, in the Constellation, took the French frigate l'Insurgent.
 Fries' insurrection in Northampton county, Penn.
 Dec. 14, General Washington died, aged 68.
- 1800 First newspaper in Tennessee.
 Jan. 7, Great snow in Carolina and Georgia.
 March 20-25, Remarkable flood in the Connecticut.
 College at Middlebury, Vermont, founded.
 Mississippi erected into a separate territory.
 Michigan territory changed its name from Wayne county, and erected into a government.
 The importation of slaves prohibited.
 Washington City established as the permanent seat of government.
 Second census of the United States, 5,257,312. Increase in ten years, 1,323,679.
- 1801 March 4, Thomas Jefferson chosen president, and Aaron Burr vice-president.
 Connecticut Academy of Literature founded.
 Newspapers annually published in the U. States, 12,000,000.
- 1802 March 7, The college at Princeton burnt.
 Ohio admitted into the Union.
- 1803 April 30, Treaty with France for Louisiana.
 Merino sheep introduced by David Humphreys.
- 1804 Feb. 22, Great fire burnt most of Norfolk, Virginia.
 July 11, Alexander Hamilton killed in a duel by Aaron Burr.
 Dr. Joseph Priestley, died in Pennsylvania, aged 70.
 Sept. 1, Unexampled tempest began in the West Indies, and raged three days, on the 7th, 8th, and 9th; it inundated Carolina and Georgia, with immense destruction.
- 1804-5 Dec. 20, to last February, severest winter since 1780.
- 1805 Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, with only 60 men, boarded, retook, and burnt the Philadelphia frigate, under the walls of Tripoli.
 March 4, Thomas Jefferson re-elected president, and George Clinton chosen vice-president.
 General Horatio Gates died, aged 78.
- 1806 Lewis and Clarke's expedition through Louisiana.
 June 16, Total eclipse of the sun in the United States.
 Robert Morris, the financier, died, aged 72.
- 1807 Jan. 1, The whole debt of the Union 67,727,756 dollars.
 Jan. 18, Colonel Burr arrested for treason and conspiracy.
 Pike's expedition to explore Louisiana accomplished.
 June 22, The British frigate Leopard fired upon the Chesapeake, commodore Barron.
 A comet visible throughout the United States.

- July 2, Proclamation of the president forbidding intercourse with British ships of war.
 Nov. 29, British orders in council against neutral commerce.
 Commodore Edward Preble died, aged 46.
 Dec. 17, French decree of Milan.
 Dec. 25, Embargo law passed.
 1808 Steam boats invented by Robert Fulton.
 1809 March 4, President Jefferson declining another election, James Madison was chosen president, and George Clinton re-elected vice-president.
 April 17, Commerce restored with Britain, by Mr. Erskine's arrangement.
 June 8, Thomas Paine died, aged 73.
 Aug. 9, Non-importation renewed.
 1810 Third census of the United States, 7,238,421. Increase in 20 years, 3,304,788.
 1811 March 3, The charter of the United States bank expired, and Congress refused to prolong it.
 May 1, Upwards of 100 houses burnt in New York city.
 Number of post-offices in the union 2,403.
 Nov. 7, Battle of Tippecanoe, Indians routed by the army under governor Harrison.
 General W. Eaton, the hero of Dern, died, aged 45.
 Dec. 26, Theatre at Richmond burnt, 100 persons perished.
 1812 Louisiana admitted into the Union.
 June 17, War declared by Congress against Great Britain.
 August 7, Battle of Miguango. The Americans, under colonel Miller, dispersed the Indians.
 August 16, Disaster of Detroit, General Hull, with superior force, surrendered to the British, under General Brock, without firing a gun.
 Aug. 19, A tremendous hurricane at New Orleans, which injured 48 vessels, and many dwellings.
 Aug. 19, The British frigate Guerriere, of 49 guns, captured and destroyed by the frigate Constitution, captain Isaac Hull, of 54 guns.
 Oct. 13, Battle of Queenstown, Americans repulsed, but with the loss of the British General, Brock, killed.
 Oct. 18, The British sloop of war Frolic, of 22 guns, captured by the sloop of war Wasp, capt. Jones, 18 guns.
 Oct. 25, The British frigate Macedonian, 49 guns, captured and brought into New York by the frigate United States, of 54 guns, commodore Stephen Decatur.
 Dec. 31, The British frigate Java, 49 guns, captured and destroyed by the Constitution frigate, capt. Zambridge.
 December, Number of vessels captured from the enemy since the war commenced—347.
 James Madison re-elected president, and Elbridge Gerry chosen vice-president.